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MEMOIRS OF THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA

No. 73

Sanskrit Literature and Art —Mirrors of Indian Culture

BY

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सत्यमेव जयते

PREFACE

Sanskrit literature is a never-failing source of inspiration for the proper understanding of Indian culture of which tangible representations are found in sculpture and painting. So a study of both literature and art as mirrors of a country's culture is a useful way of approaching the rich and fragrant blossoms in the garden of its civilization. As a beginning has already been made by me in my books on Kālidāsa I thought this time I should choose a wider field and have touched on a few interesting themes to suggest the unlimited scope of this fascinating subject. I shall be more than amply rewarded for my task if scholars feel that the approach is worthwhile pursuing further. I recall with pleasure and gratitude the kind enquiries of Dr. F. H. Gravely and Sir Mortimer Wheeler about my literary work which have in no small measure helped me in my progress in this. I take this opportunity of thanking Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji for his never-failing interest in my work which has acted as a great stimulus and also Mr. Chhotelal Jain but for whose constant urging this book would not have been finished early.

Even after writing it, its publication was delayed for several reasons, and early in 1952, it was about to be sent to the journal of a Research Society that had accepted to get it out as one of its publications when Pandit Madho Sarup Vats, the then Director General of Archaeology in India, evinced interest in it and very kindly agreed to get it published in the Memoirs Series of the Archaeological Survey of India for which I am most grateful to him. To Mr. A. Ghosh, the present Director General of Archaeology, I am equally grateful as the expeditious publication of this Memoir is entirely due to the interest evinced in it by him. To the Department of Archaeology in India, the Archaeological Departments of Ceylon, Hyderabad, Mysore, Gwalior and Travancore-Cochin, the British Museum, the Indian Museum, the Madras Government Museum and the Museums of Mathura and Lucknow, Dr. A. J. Bernet Kempers and the Dinas Purbakala of Java and Mr. Martin Hürliman I am most thankful for kind permission to illustrate the photographs accompanying this paper. The Index has been very kindly prepared by Mr. Asoke Kumar Bhattacharyya to whom my grateful thanks are due.

CALCUTTA,

the 30th April, 1954.

C. SIVARAMAMURTI

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Sanskrit Literature and Art —Mirrors of Indian Culture

I. INTRODUCTORY

The culture of a nation is judged by its literature and art. And these serve as a mirror of the glory of the nation to which they belong. The understanding of a forgotten past is made possible and what is left unexplained or vague by one is explained and made clear by the other, as art and literature act as real mirrors, but of a peculiar type in that they reflect images that no longer exist. This reminds us of the famous verse of Daṇḍin in his *Kāvyaḍarśa* :

आदिराजयशोविम्बमादर्शं प्राप्य वाङ्मयम् ।
तेषामसन्निधानेऽपि पश्य नाद्यापि नश्यति ॥

I. 5.¹

Sanskrit literature is a mine of information for the student of Indian culture : Indian sculpture is similarly useful. For proper understanding of the one the other acts as a supplement.

II. ŚĀLABHAÑJIKĀ

We can take for example the word *śālabhañjikā* itself. *Śālabhañjikā* as used in the title of the drama *Viddhaśālabhañjikā* means a portrait statue. To understand how the term *śālabhañjikā* came to mean a statue we have to see the earliest representations and the connotations of the word itself. During the time of Pāṇini the terms *śālabhañjikā*, *uddālakapushpabhañjikā* and *aśokapushpaprachāyikā* connoted games in which girls used to gather different flowers from the branches of trees like *śāla* and *aśoka*. These games were depicted in sculpture and the earliest representations are contemporaneous with the great grammarian. Gradually the importance was taken up more by sculpture and the game as such went into the background though the motif of the woman beside the tree continued during the centuries, and slowly any sculptural figure came to be styled *śālabhañjikā* irrespective of the presence or absence of the *śāla* tree and the sex of the figure sculptured. By the time of Aśvaghoṣa in the 2nd century A.D., the caryatides, specially the flanking ones on a *toraṇa* gateway, came to be called *toraṇaśālabhañjikā* and here the *śālabhañjikā* was still a woman beside the *śāla* tree as the tree-motif continued and it became an architectural term. The bent position of the *toraṇaśālabhañjikā* was particularly carefully depicted, and the comparison that Aśvaghoṣa draws to the women near the window watching Siddhārtha and the resemblance to the *toraṇaśālabhañjikā* is appropriately based on this :

अवलम्ब्य गवाक्षपार्श्वमन्या शयिता चापविभुग्नगात्रयष्टिः ।
विरराज विलम्बिचारुहारा रचिता तोरणशालभञ्जिकेव ॥

Buddhacharita, V. 52,²

¹ 'Look ! The image of fame of early kings reflected in the mirror of literature does not disappear even now even in their absence.'

² 'Another damsel, holding to the side of a window and with her body flexed beautifully like a bow and with her pearl necklace dangling, looked like a carved decorative figure on the *torāṇa* gateway.'

and as the *śāla* tree cannot be expected in the case of the women at the window the connotation of the term *śālabhañjikā* has already undergone a change. In later Sanskrit literature *śālabhañjikā* just connotes a statue and nothing more and even its derivation is forgotten. Professor Vogel has done a real service to the study of Sanskrit by drawing attention to this rare usage of the term *toraṇaśālabhañjikā*, of which the finest examples are from the gateways from Sāncī (pl. I, 1). Other *toraṇaśālabhañjikās* occur in the rich collection of early sculpture round about the Christian era in the Mathurā Museum.

III. ĪHĀMRIGA

The term *īhāmṛiga* occurring in the *Rāmāyaṇa* in the description of the magnificent Pushpaka palace of Rāvaṇa :

ईहामृगसमायुक्तैः कार्तस्वरहिरण्मयैः ।

सुकृतैराचितं स्तम्भैः प्रदीप्तमिव च श्रिया ॥

Rāmāyaṇa, V. 9. 13¹

cannot be understood by us properly without actual examples of such fancy animals. And what is connoted by the term can be realised only when we turn to early sculpture which abounds in such fantastic creations of human imagination (fig. 1). In the *Rāmāyaṇa*

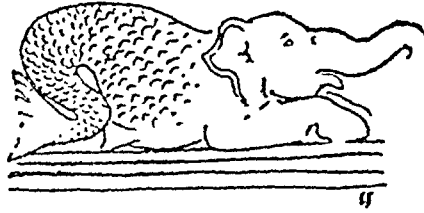


Fig. 1. *Īhāmṛiga—gajavakrajhasha*
from the Amarāvati rail—Sātavāhana,
2nd century A. D., Madras Govern-
ment Museum, Madras

and the *Mahābhārata* there are descriptions and even special names for these fantastic animals. A particular example like *mīnavāji* or *gajavakrajhasha* described in the verses :

झषाणां गजवक्राणामुलूकानां तथैव च ।

मीनवाजिसरूपाणां

Mahābhārata, III. 173. 50-51,²

and

निर्ययू राक्षसव्याघ्रा व्याघ्रा इव दुरासदाः ॥

वृकसिंहमुखैर्युक्तं खरैः कनकभूषणैः ।

Rāmāyaṇa, VI. 51. 27-28³

are from the large group of *īhāmṛigas* or fancy animals. Not only are these elephants and horses provided with the hind quarters of fish with lovely scales, but they are also depicted sometimes with wings. This fish-elephant is called *mātāṅganakra* by Kālidāsa :

मातङ्गनक्रैः सहस्रोत्पतद्भिन्नान्द्विधा पश्य समुद्रफेनान्

Raghuvamśa, XIII. 11.⁴

¹ '(The palace) shone with splendour being provided with silver and golden pillars well fashioned and decorated with motifs of animals of fancy.'

² 'Of fish with elephant's head, of owls and of those resembling fish-horse.'

³ 'Those excellent demons, unassailable like tigers, went by (cars to which were yoked) mules with feline and leonine faces, having trappings of gold.'

⁴ 'Look at the foam of the sea split asunder by the elephant-fish suddenly springing up.'

The *Rāmāyana* does not show how these motifs are arranged in beautifying the building and their position can be judged only from sculpture. And it is interesting to find that when they occur on pillars and pilasters the winged *ihāmṛigas* are on top nearer the capital and those that are half-fish are shown near the base suggesting terrestrial and aquatic spheres respectively and very appropriately.

IV. SWAN FRIEZE

The other motif of swans in rows carrying lotus-stalks and full-blown flowers in their beaks is also repeated in early architecture and helps us to understand and appreciate fully the line of Vālmīki :

हंसप्रवेकैरिव वात्समानम्

Rāmāyana, V. 7. 7.¹

and

प्रवालजाम्बूनदुष्पपधाः नलीलगार्जितजिह्वापधाः ।

कामस्य साक्षादिव भान्ति पधाः कृता विहङ्गाः सुमुग्धाः सुपधाः ॥

Rāmāyana, V. 7. 13.²

An excellent example comes from Amarāvati, and other examples frequently occur at Ghaṇṭaśālā, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, etc. As for rows of geese there is no better example than the Aśoka pillar. But the geese with the lotus-stalk are the subject under consideration, and they do occur quite commonly and in mediaeval sculptures as at Belūr and Halebīd. (pl. I, 2) and in the Vijayanagar temples the motif is often repeated. It is this delightful theme that Kālidāsa describes in his *Meghadūta* in the line :

आकैनासाद्विषकिसलयच्छेदपाथेयवन्तः ।

संपत्स्यन्ते नभसि भवतो राजहंसाः सहायाः ॥

Meghadūta, I. 11.³

V. ATLANTES CARYATIDES

Among other caryatid motifs should be mentioned the huge Yakshas and Rākshasas supporting the base of the structure. Vālmīki in his description of the Pushpaka palace says that night-prowlers or Rākshasas wearing *kuṇḍalas* to adorn their face carry the palace :

वहन्ति यं कुण्डलशोभितानना महाशना व्योमचरा निशाचराः ।

Rāmāyana, V. 8. 7.⁴

The significance of this description can be understood only when we see the Nāsik cave where the base is supported by large caryatid figures answering the literary description (pl. I, 3). Such fat dwarfish caryatid figures on the base occur also at Bharhut where they support the structure.

¹ 'Borne by excellent swans.'

² 'The birds were so executed with excellent bills and wings that with their wings of coral and gold flowers sportingly expanded into a curve they looked the very wings of Cupid.'

³ 'You will have as companions in the sky up to Mount Kailāsa swans with bits of lotus shoots as their food for the way.'

⁴ 'Which (i.e., the palace) is supported by demons (lit. night-prowlers) whose faces are decorated with *kuṇḍala* ear ornaments.'

VI. STAMBHAPUTTALIKĀ OR DAMSELS ON PILLARS

Pillars adorned with lovely representations of women as described by Kālidāsa in his verse :

स्तम्भेषु योषित्प्रतियातनानामुत्क्रान्तवर्णक्रमधूसराणाम् ।
स्तनोत्तरीयाणि भवन्ति सङ्गान्निर्मोकपट्टाः फणिभिर्विमुक्ताः ॥

Raghuvamśa, XVI.17,¹

and in Vālmiki's verse :

नारीप्रवेकैरिव दीप्यमानम्

Rāmāyaṇa, V.7.7²

stressing the nature of the caryatid function can best be understood only when the figures that abound on the pillars and pilasters from Jaggayyapeṭa and Mathurā, specially the Bhūtesar pillars showing the fine Yakshīs, are studied along with these verses as their commentary.

VII. CHAITYA-WINDOWS WITH HUMAN FACE DECORATION

The *chaitya*-windows so often carved as architectural motifs where they are not actual windows have representations of human faces very charmingly delineated often with feminine grace, and some fine examples occur at Mahābalipuram (pl. I, 4), but the feature is a common one in early architecture all over India reminding us of the lines of Kālidāsa :

अनेन चेदिच्छसि गृह्यमाणं पाणिं वरेण्येन कुरु प्रवेशे ।
प्रासादवातायनसंश्रितानां नेत्रोत्सवं पुष्पपुराङ्गनानाम् ॥

Raghu., VI.24,³

and

रात्रावनाविष्कृतदीपभासः कान्तामुखश्रीवियुता दिवापि ।
तिरस्क्रियन्ते किमितन्तुजालैर्विच्छिन्नधूमप्रसरा गवाक्षाः ॥

Raghu., XVI.20.⁴

The suggestion of fair damsels looking on from the windows is a charming architectural motif.

VIII. PŪRNAGHATA

The *pūrnaghata* on either side of the doorway, as the most auspicious object and symbol of plenty, inviting the visitor which survives to this day, is beautifully alluded to by Kālidāsa in the verse :

तस्याधिकारपुरुषैः प्रणतैः प्रदिष्टां प्राग्द्वारवेदिविनिवेशितपूर्णकुम्भाम् ।
रम्यां रघुप्रतिनिधिः स नवोपकार्यां वाल्यात्परामिव दशां मदनोऽध्युवस ॥

Raghu., V.63.⁵

¹ 'The filmy covers abandoned by snakes appear like the upper garment covering the breasts of the figures of damsels on the pillars (of the palaces at Ayodhyā), appearing faded owing to the loss of their original bright colour.'

² 'Shining as it were with beautiful female statuettes.'

³ 'If you desire to have your hand held (in wedlock) by this excellent prince, then, on your entry (in his town), please do give a feast for the eyes of the damsels of Pushpapura all gathered at the windows of the mansions (there).'

⁴ 'The windows, without the light of lamp by night and the splendour of the beautiful face of damsels by day, are choked by cobwebs in the absence of perfume smoke issuing therefrom.'

⁵ 'Being guided thereto respectfully by the officers (of the Vidarbha king), the heir of Raghu occupied the beautiful new tent with auspicious overflowing pots placed at the eastern entrance as Cupid occupies the stage next to boyhood.'

A fine picture of fancy of *pūrṇaghaṭas* and wreath of blue lotuses in the pair of breasts and lovely dark eyes of the damsel at the gate is given in the verse :

अत्युन्नतस्तनसुगा तरन्वायताक्षी दारि रिभता ननुपमानमहोन्नमाय ।
सा पूर्णकम्भनयनीरजतोरणनयनगभारमङ्गलमयलकुलं निधत्ते ॥

Sāhityadarpaṇa, IV.12.¹

and a similar one in the *Gāthāsaptasatī* :

रत्नागङ्गाप्रणमप्रणमना तुमं सा पटिच्छद्गुणम् ।
दारुणिहिमहिं दोहिं वि मङ्गलकननेहिं च धनेहि ॥
[रुपाद्रवीणंनयनोत्पन्ना त्वां सा प्रवीक्षते धामानम् ।
दारुनिहिताभ्यां हास्यामपि मङ्गलकवताभ्यामिव स्तनभ्याम् ॥]

Gāthāsaptasatī, II.40.²

The flanking *pūrṇaghaṭas* near the Amarāvati Stūpa entrance and the numerous Chālukyan temples besides others are excellent examples. As at Polonnaruwa in Ceylon these *pūrṇaghaṭas* are sometimes shown carried by human figures or Nāgarājas gracefully standing in *tribhāṅga* like Dvārapālakas on either side of the entrance (pl. II, 5). It is this idea of *pūrṇaghaṭas* that ultimately took the shape of *nulīdevatīs*, specially Gaṅgā and Yamunā on either side of the gateway. Originally even *nulīdevatīs* should have been represented symbolically by *pūrṇaghaṭas*, as even today, both for Varuṇa-*pūjā* and Nadi-*pūjā*, the latter done every day before bath, rivers are invoked in the vessel full of water ; and even when the rivers came to be represented in human form the water vessel still persisted to be shown in their hands. In the earlier representations of rivers as human beings as at Amarāvati, Gaṅgā is taken as the ideal and the crocodile is shown beneath the river on either side but slowly the tortoise also came into vogue distinguishing Yamunā from Gaṅgā (pl. II, 6). That is why, Kālidāsa specifically says that the rivers Gaṅgā and Yamunā in actual human form flanked Śiva to attend on him with *chauries* in their hands :

मूर्ते च गङ्गायमुने तदानीं गन्तामरे देवमनेनितानाम् ।

Kumārasambhava, VII.42.³

The word *mūrte* is very significant as it points to the earlier tradition of symbolic representation by means of the *pūrṇaghaṭa*. But the symbolic representation as in the case of Buddha did not actually go out of use and the simplest representation being the symbol *pūrṇaghaṭa* has always adorned the entrance on all auspicious occasions and the motif is a favourite in religious architecture.

IX. BIRD-DECORATION ON ROOF-LINE

In describing the beautiful houses in Dvārakā, Māgha in his *Śiśupālavadha* refers to live cats crouching motionless to catch carved doves on the *kapotapālī* mistaking them for live ones and both in their turn admired by spectators in the street as products of

¹ That damsel, standing at the gate for celebrating the festival of his return with her pair of very high breasts and tremulous long eyes, achieves, as it were, the auspicious purpose of filled water pitcher and a garland of blue lotuses.'

² 'With her blue lotus-like eyes running to the road, she sees you come, with her pair of breasts like two suspicious water pitchers placed at the doorway.'

³ Gaṅgā and Yamunā personified then attended on the Lord with *chauries*.'

the artist's chisel approaching so near the original by the dexterity of the hand :

चित्रं सया कृत्रिमपत्रिपङ्कतेः कपोतपालीषु निकेतनानाम् ।

मार्जरमप्यायतनिश्चलाङ्गं यस्यां जनः कृत्रिममेव मेने ॥

Sisupālavadha, III.51.¹

It is this line of Māgha that makes us understand better the carved representations of doves and monkeys, the latter running after the former at the corners of the eaves of the *maṇḍapas* of the Vijayanagar period (pl. II, 7) that abound in the Canarese, Telugu and Tamil districts. And it is only the same idea of *chamatkāra* that accounts for the life-like representations of lizards on the walls and ceilings of the *maṇḍapas* very often misleading people to take them for real ones.

X. LAKSHMĪ ON DOORWAY

A motif of immense popularity and invariably present on all doorways is Lakshmī or Śrī seated or standing on lotus, often bathed by elephants on either side of her emptying pitchers full of water. She is portrayed so very often on the Bharhut, Sāncī and other gateways in early Buddhist monuments (pl. II, 8). She is found depicted on the doorways of the Jaina cave temples of similar date from Udayagiri in Orissa. It is needless to say that there is practically no Hindu monument without the gateway presenting Śrī or Lakshmī on the lintel. Professor Foucher believes the representation of this Gaja-Lakshmī to be that of the birth of Buddha, the figure of Lakshmī being interpreted as Māyā and the elephants as the Nāgas, the substitution of the serpent for elephant being explained by the double meaning of the word Nāga. But for a proper understanding of the motif it is almost contemporary early literature which should be looked up for clarification. And this is very clearly given in the description of the Pushpaka palace of Rāvaṇa in the *Rāmāyaṇa*. On the gateway Lakshmī is described standing on the lotus and bathed by elephants :

नियुज्यमानास्तु गजाः सुहस्ताः सकेशराश्चोत्पलपत्रहस्ताः ।

बभूव देवी च कृता सुहस्ता लक्ष्मीस्तथा पद्मिनि पद्महस्ता ॥

Rāmāyaṇa, V.7.14.²

In later sculptures of the mediaeval period Lakshmī is shown invariably seated and attended by elephants ; but in early sculpture it is more usual to find her shown standing on the lotus though seated representations are not absent. The term *padme sthitām* easily allows both representations, though literally speaking the standing posture is nearer the mark. The same figure cannot be explained as Māyā in one, as Lakshmī in another and something else in some other. The motif is an ancient auspicious one not specially occurring in or associated with any one particular faith but common to all.

XI. ELEPHANT CARYATIDES

The so-called *rathas* at Mahābalipuram and the temple at Ellora and many others similarly all over India have representations of elephants at intervals at the base (pl. III, 9). These are understood only in the light of the descriptions of *diggajas* that bear the

¹ ' In that (city) people mistook even the (live) cat, with its body pulled up and motionless, for springing on the carved row of doves on the dovecot of the mansions (which it mistook for live ones). '

² ' There were (on the *torana* gateway of the Pushpaka palace) elephants in action, with beautiful trunks holding lotuses with leaves, and goddess Lakshmī was also fashioned as on the lotus, with lotuses in her lovely hands. '

weight of the world and which naturally are expected to support the mighty Mahāmeru or Kailāsa as these are the two types of temples comparable to Mandara, Meru or Kailāsa mountains as we find described. In inscriptions like

तेनेदं कारितं शम्भोर्भवनं भूतये भुवः ।
कैलासमन्दरनिभं भूभृतां मूर्ध्नि तिष्ठता ॥

Epigraphia Indica, X, p. 12¹

अस्मिन्नुत्तशत्रुद्विरदघनघटाराजसिंहेन राज्ञा
राजामाजाविधेयीकृतसकलदिशानिमिते धर्मभाजा ।
शैले कैलासलीलामपहरति गृहे राजसिंहेश्वराख्यं
विभ्रत्यभ्रलिहाये विरचयत् सदा सन्निधानं वृषाङ्कः ॥

South Indian Inscriptions, I, p. 13,²

the temple built by Rājasimheśvara Pallava is likened to Kailāsa and Mandara, and latterly Rājasimheśvaragriha itself came to be styled Kailāsanātha temple and the cause for this is obvious. Similarly from inscriptions we know that the famous temple at Ellōra (Ellōra) is compared to Mount Kailāsa :

तस्मादपालयदिमां वसुधां पितृव्यः श्रीकृष्णराजनृपतिः शरदभ्रगुञ्जैः ।
यत्कारितेश्वरगृहं सुमत्यनेककैलासशैलनिचितेव चिरं विभाति ॥

Epigraphia Indica, IV, p. 282,³

and today we know it as the Kailāsa temple at Ellōra. Such mighty edifices do require only the *diggajas* for supporting them. And does not literature with its numerous descriptions of the great capacity of the elephants of the quarters explain this pleasing architectural motif ?

उर्वी मीर्वीकिणभृति भवद्दोष्णि विभ्रत्यशेषं
शान्तवलान्तिः किमपि कुरुते नर्मणा कर्म कूर्मः ।
कृत्वा लीलापुलिनलवलीपल्लवग्रासगोष्ठीं
दिङ्मातङ्गाः सममथ सरिन्नाभपायः पिवन्ति ॥

Subhāshitāvali, 2608⁴

कैलासस्य प्रथमशिखरे वेणुसंमूर्च्छनाभिः
श्रुत्वा कीर्तिं विबुधरमणीगीयमानां यदीयाम् ।
त्रास्तापाङ्गाः सरसविसिनीक्रोडसञ्जातशङ्का
दिङ्मातङ्गाः श्रवणपुलिने हस्तमावर्तयन्ति ॥

Kāvyaaprakāśa, IV.64.⁵

¹ 'By that foremost of kings was fashioned for the good of this world this temple of Śambhu resembling the mountains Kailāsa and Mandara.'

² 'May the Bull-bannered (Śiva) always grace with his presence this stone temple, with its pinnacle (almost) licking the clouds, bearing the name of Rājasimheśvara and (as it were) exceeding the magnificence of Mount Kailāsa itself, built by this king of kings Rājasimha, the receptacle of piety, a very royal lion to the thick host of elephants in the shape of haughty enemies, and one whose order was obeyed from every direction.'

³ 'After him ruled the earth his uncle king Śrī Kṛṣṇa Rāja who erected temples of Śiva pure as the autumnal clouds by which for all time the earth appeared provided with several Kailāsa mountains.'

⁴ '(Oh king !) when your arm marked with the scar of the bow-string upholds the entire earth, the tortoise (that supports the earth) being relieved of its burden sportively engages himself in something, and the elephants of the quarters, all of them having gathered together in playfully enjoying mouthfuls of tender shoots of *lavalī* creepers in the sands, drink the water of the ocean (lit. lord of rivers).'

⁵ 'Hearing his fame sung by divine nymphs on the top crest of Mount Kailāsa to the accompaniment of flutes, the elephants of the quarters with frightened eyes plant their trunks on their dune-wide ears, fancying there juicy lotus roots.'

It is similar concept that brings in a whole family of sculptured *diggajas* lie groaning under the weight of the model *dīgaba* at Amuādhapura of about the 2nd century B. C.

XII. MERU AND MANDARA CONCEPT OF TEMPLES

This idea of temple resembling Meru and Mandara and Kailāsa which often occurs in lines from literature like :

कैलासविमलः सविमलः (मण्डपः)

Rāmāyaṇa, V. 2.23 ; 3.32,¹

and in inscriptions like :

कैलासमण्डपः सविमलः सविमलः सविमलः सविमलः

Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, III, p. 81²

of the Mandara inscription of Kumāragupta and Bandhuvarman and :

मन्दारमण्डपः सविमलः सविमलः सविमलः
मन्दारमण्डपः सविमलः सविमलः सविमलः

South Indian Inscriptions, I, p. 30³

from the Pallava Cave inscription from Trenchirapalli, describing the temples as mountain-like, their magnificent glory of height and proportions licking the clouds as it were, has travelled beyond the mainland and in distant Cambodia expressed itself in one of the unforgettable monuments forming a great treasure of eastern Asia.

The temple at Angkor Thom rearing up its magnificent towers and approached by bridges over the moat with parapets of Deva and Asura fifty-four on each side of each bridge supporting the body of many headed Nāga cannot be understood properly except by recalling the concept of the Mandara mountain used as the churn-stick with Vāsuki as the string for the purpose for obtaining the immortal ambrosia.

The line in the *Rāmāyaṇa* describing the huge figure of Rāvana as comparable to the Mandara mountain and the black waist-string that he wore to that of Vāsuki, the snake, used as the string for churning :

श्रीणीम्बेण महता मेनकेनाभिसंयुतम् ।
प्रमृतांतादनन्देन भुजगेनेय मन्दरः ॥

Rāmāyaṇa, V.9.47⁴

brings out this idea of comparison clearly in understanding this monument, which appropriately as in the case of sister monuments in India fashioned after the ideal of famous mountains like Kailāsa and Meru, is here wrought after Mandara, a mountain of even greater importance. This concept of whole balustrades on either side of the approach representing a series of gods on one side (pl. III, 10) and demons on the other (pl. IV, 11) to glorify one of the greatest feats described in epic literature, *amṛitamathana*, as

¹ 'Like the crest of Kailāsa rubbing the sky as it were.'

² 'There are other mansions with their long façades and railings that look like the high crests of Mount Kailāsa.'

³ 'Being so ordered lovingly by Hara (King) Guṇabhara who was as famous as Manu gave him this rock temple that licks the clouds (as it were) in his kingdom.'

⁴ 'With a big black waist-cord wound around him (he looked) like Mount Mandara with snake wound round it for producing ambrosia (by churning the ocean).'

architectural motif, is something of which not only the sculptor who conceived it but we, in terms of people of Asia, should feel proud.

The theme of *amṛitamathana* is such a great and noble one that it has inspired the sculptor as an architectural and sculptural motif in other places as well not only abroad as in the Bali island but also in India where it occurs sometimes in some of the Gupta and early mediaeval temples as lintel decoration over the doorway. How popular the theme of *amṛitamathana* was may be judged from how often the thoughts of poets run to it to utilise it as a simile in lines like :

प्रमथ्यमानाणवधीरनादिनीम्

Raghu., III. 59. ¹

From the churned milky ocean rose the different covetable objects like the wish-fulfilling tree *kalparāṣikṣa*, the divine horse Uchchaiśravas, the divine elephant Airāvata, Lakshmi the goddess of prosperity, divine nymphs like Rambhā, Urvaśi, Tilottamā, Mīśrakeśi, Ghṛitāchī etc., *kālakūṭa* poison and finally the *amṛitakalāśa* brimming with divine ambrosia. All the gods came in for the sweeter ones, Indra choosing the divine damsels to dance in his court and the wonder elephant and the horse for his use as also the wish-fulfilling *kalpa* tree, which, however, was later wrested from him by Kṛṣṇa for satisfying Satyabhāmā, Viṣṇu himself appropriating Lakshmi for himself as his spouse, and for the deadly poison *kālakūṭa*, which struck terror in the hearts of gods and demons alike, and almost consumed by its deadly flame and poisonous fumes the entire universe, and which no god or devil claimed for himself, but on the other hand ran away from with all the swiftness possible, came forward Śiva, as the saviour of the three worlds and, as Viṣṇū-paharaṇa, drank the deadly poison and on the entreaties of his wife Pārvatī, stopped it in the neck itself and thus came to be called Nilakanṭha or Śrikanṭha by the dark colour it produced on his fair throat, a theme which has inspired the greatest of later Sanskrit poets Nilakanṭha Dikṣita, the prime minister of King Tirumala Nāyaka of Madurai to produce the *Nilakanṭhaviṣayachampū* with this *maṅgalaśloka* beginning it :

दृष्ट्वा कीदृशस्तुभमप्सरोगणमपि प्रकान्तवादा मिथः

गीर्वाणाः कति वा न सन्ति भुवने भारा दिवः केवलम् ।

निष्कान्ते गरले द्रुते सुरगणे निश्चेष्टिते विष्टे

मा भैष्टेऽति गिराऽऽविरास धुरि यो देवस्तमेव स्तुमः ॥²

All these, the elephant, the horse, the wish-fulfilling tree, the goddess of fortune, the divine nymphs and the jar overflowing with ambrosia are architectural motifs perennially occurring on all monuments. But the most important of these that struck terror in the hearts of the gods has only occasional representations like the Viṣṇūpaharaṇa bronze of late Pallava date in the Madras Museum which by the way is one of the finest representations of Śiva in bronze.

¹ 'With a deep noble sound like that of the ocean as it was churned.'

² 'How many gods are there not, mere burdens to the celestial world, who at the sight of the *kaustubha* gem and divine nymphs started arguing and quarrelling amongst themselves (about their possession); but when the poison appeared, all the gods fled and the universe was rendered motionless, there came forward a god with the (reassuring) words "Be not afraid" whom alone we extol.'

XIII. CHATURMUKHA ASPECT

This lack of emphasis on the most wonderful phase of the theme of *amṛitamathana* is more than compensated by the glorious manner in which it is treated in Ankor Thom. Here the temple tower made up of four gigantic faces decorating the four sides and facing the cardinal points represent the Maheśa form of Śiva in his all-pervasive immanent aspect so symbolized, emphasis being placed on the *mukha* or face of Śiva that swallowed the poison with an overflowing *karuṇā* or compassion for *viśva* or the universe suggested by the four directions faced by the four faces, the whole thing acquiring the utmost meaning in this context of the grand balustrades of Devas and Dānavas holding the long body of the gigantic Nāga in the vicinity of the temple towers rearing their heads like the Mandara mountain (pl. IV, 12). This is probably the greatest sculptural rendering of this great theme and undoubtedly the most glorious tribute of a master sculptor to the genius of Epic imagination in India. It is in this glorious aspect of the lord of the entire concourse of animate and inanimate things all over that Bāṇa describes, the four-faced form of Śivaliṅga in the nature of *charācharaguru*, so popular a theme in mediaeval Śivaliṅgas of North India and occurring even in Java with Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Śiva and Sūrya represented on the four sides as creative, protective, destructive and light-giving force, a fine Gupta example of which is in the Indian Museum, Calcutta.

XIV. TORANA DECORATION

The *Rāmāyaṇa* gives a beautiful and graphic description of the *torana*, gateway, to the Pushpaka palace. A general idea of the *torana* is presented by Kālidāsa in his verse :

श्रेणीबन्धाद्वितन्वद्भिरस्तम्भां तोरणस्रजम्
सारसैः कलनिर्हृदैः क्वचिदुन्नमितान् नौ ॥

Raghu., I. 41,¹

where the two pillars on either side, tall and majestic and a lintel decorated with rows of geese, etc., are suggested by likening the row of *sārasas* (cranes) flying in the sky to a *torana*, gateway, lacking the upright pillars, the beauty of which made King Dilīpa and Queen Sudakṣiṇā gaze at it in wonder. The shape of the somewhat arched lintels is also suggested by him in his line :

दूराल्लक्ष्यं सुरपतिधनुश्चारुणा तोरणेन

Meghadūta, II. 15.²

The description in the *Rāmāyaṇa* gives a fine picture of the decorative element on the pillars and lintels, specially the creeper designs, flowers, etc.,

तोरणैः काञ्चनैर्दीप्तां लतापङ्क्तिविचित्रितैः ।

Rāmāyaṇa, V. 2. 18,³

but to fully comprehend the beauty of the *torana* it is the actual ones as seen at Sānchi or depicted in sculpture from Mathurā, Amarāvati, etc., which should be studied.

¹ 'Raising their heads sometimes at the sweet sound of the *sārasas* (cranes) that by forming rows (in their flight) created as it were a gateway garland without the jambs (to hold it).'

² 'May be seen from afar with its arched gateway beautiful like the rainbow.'

³ 'Bright with golden gateways decorated with creeper patterns.'

XV. ŚAṆKHA AND PADMA

Kālidāsa in his *Meghadūta* has given a picture of the doorway beautified with the painting of *śaṅkha* and *padma* on either side :

द्वारोपान्ते निमित्तवपुषी गङ्गापती च दृष्टा

Megha., II. 20.¹

In sculpture also this motif is very popular, both as actual conch and lotus in early representation of the 3rd-4th centuries A.D. (cf. the marble carvings of the Ikshvāku period from a derelict Buddhist stūpa from the Kṛishṇā valley, now in the collection of Rao Bahadur S. T. Srinivasagopalachari), and as dwarf Yakshas representing the *nidhis* or treasures with conch and lotus oozing coins represented beside them to explain their identity clearer : but they are more common in the latter form, thus answering Kālidāsa's line *likhita-vapushau*², 'with their bodies portrayed'. The numerous Chālukyan temples containing the dwarf Yaksha and the lotus and conch beside them are good examples. Two excellent examples from Kāveripākkam are now preserved in the Madras Museum (pl. V, 13).

XVI. KALPAVALLĪ

On the railing of the Bharhut stūpa the motif of *kalpavallī* is elaborately depicted. The wish-fulfilling creeper is only another version of the wish-fulfilling tree better suited as an architectural motif running the whole length of coping or upright in meandering fashion. This, whether at Sāncī or at Bharhut (pl. V, 14) or on any other early monument, answers the verse of Kālidāsa in the *Meghadūta* ;

वानश्चित्रं मधु नयनयोर्विभ्रमादेजदक्षं
पुष्पोद्भेदं सह किसलयैर्भूषणानां विभेषान् ।
नाधाराणं चरणकमलनयानयोग्यं च यस्या-
मेकः सूते सकलमवलामण्डनं कल्पवृक्षः ॥

Megha., II. 12.³

and the more elaborate description given in the Epics, the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa*

तत्र वृक्षा मधुफला नित्यपुष्पफलोपमाः ।
पुष्पाणि च सुगन्धीनि रसवन्ति फलानि च ॥
सर्वकामफलास्तत्र केचिद्वृक्षा जनाधिप ।
अपरे क्षीरिणो नाम वृक्षास्तत्र नराधिप ॥
ये क्षरन्ति मदा क्षीरं पङ्क्तं चामृतोपमम् ।
वस्त्राणि च प्रसूयन्ते फलेष्वाभरणानि च ॥
मिथुनानि च जायन्ते स्त्रियश्चाप्सरसोपमाः ।
तेषां तु क्षीरिणां क्षीरं पिवन्त्यमृतसन्निभम् ॥

Mahābhārata, VI. 7. 3, 4, 5 and 8,⁴

¹ 'Seeing the treasures *śaṅkha* and *padma* (conch and lotus) their forms portrayed near the gateway.'

² 'Their forms portrayed.'

³ 'Cloth with patterns on it, wine the adept trainer of the coquettish glances of (feminine) eyes, flowers and tender shoots, different varieties of jewels, red lac intended for application to feet (soft as) lotus, every item of feminine decoration is produced by the selfsame single *kalpavriksha* (i.e., wish-fulfilling tree).'

⁴ 'There the trees have honey-sweet fruit and perennial flowers and fruits ; the flowers are very fragrant and the fruit juicy. Some trees there, Oh king ! have all fruit according to one's wish, there are, Oh king ! other trees called milk-producing that always yield milk and of six varieties of taste like ambrosia ; and clothes and jewels are produced from their fruit, and couples as well and damsels lovely like nymphs ; and the milk of these trees that approximates ambrosia is drunk by them all.'

and

दिव्यगन्धरसस्पर्शः सर्वान्कामान् स्रवन्ति च ।
 नानाकाराणि वासांसि फलन्त्यन्ये नगोत्तमाः ॥
 मुक्तावैडूर्यचित्राणि भूषणानि तथैव च ।
 स्त्रीणां यान्यनुरूपाणि पुरुषाणां तथैव च ॥
 सर्वर्तुसुखसेव्यानि फलन्त्यन्ये नगोत्तमाः ।
 महार्हमणिचित्राणि फलन्त्यन्ये नगोत्तमाः ॥
 शयनानि प्रसूयन्ते चित्रास्तरणवन्ति च ।
 मनःकान्तानि माल्यानि फलन्त्यत्रापरे द्रुमाः ।
 पानानि च महार्हाणि भक्ष्यानि विविधानि च ।
 स्त्रियश्च गुणसंपन्ना रूपयौवनलक्षिताः ॥

Rāmāyaṇa, IV. 43. 44-48.¹

The creeper shows various types of cloths variegated in colour and with different patterns worked on them (*vāsas chitram*),² different patterns of jewels like ear-rings, bracelets, anklets, necklaces and so forth (*bhūṣaṇānām viśeṣhān*),³ different flowers and tender shoots (*pushpodbhedam saha kisalayaiḥ*)⁴ and *kuravaka* leaves for painting the *lākshā*, red dye, on the feet of damsels (*lākshārāgam charaṇakamalanāyāsajogyam cha*)⁵ and *madhubhāṇḍa* or pot full of wine, the teacher of the eyebrows of women in coquettish graces (*madhu nayana-yorvibhramādeśadākṣhaṇ*).⁶ The wonder of it is that the same creeper produces all these diverse articles of dress and toilet (*ekaḥ sūte sakalamabalāmaṇḍanam kalpavṛikshaḥ*),⁷ and in sculpture the effect is so pleasing and the narration is so telling.

XVII. VANADEVATĀ

Closely allied to the *kalpavṛiksha* which has also been described in the *Jātakas* graphically as feeding, clothing, and in every way most hospitably attending to the needs of passers-by seeking its shade, and laden with wealth in pots and bags all arranged near its roots, is the *vanadevatā* concept. It is interesting here to compare with this description of the *Jātaka* the *kalpavṛiksha* from Besnagar of the Śuṅga period, probably the top portion of a *dhvajastambha* from a temple of Dhanapati, which explains the presence of the *śaṅkha* and *padma-nidhis* as well. The representations of *vanadevatā* from Bharhut showing the hands carrying food and water issuing from the clumps of the boughs (pl. V, 15) is pro-

¹ 'The excellent trees have divine smell, taste and touch, yield everything desired, and give all kinds of apparel, jewels decorated with pearls and gems befitting women and men and suitable for all seasons; these the noble trees yield; there are other excellent trees that yield jewels of variegated patterns set with costly gems; here some more trees produce bedsteads with fine coverlets and garlands that gladden the heart, costly drinks and varieties of food and damsels noted for their excellent character, beauty and youth.'

² 'Cloth variegated.'

³ 'Patterns of jewels.'

⁴ 'Different flowers and tender shoots.'

⁵ 'Red dye for application to the lotus-like feet (of damsels).'

⁶ 'The teacher of the eyebrows (of damsels) in coquettish graces.'

⁷ 'The same *kalpa* tree produces all the articles of feminine dress and toilet.'

bably the best explanation of the verse in the *Śākuntala* :

क्षौमं केनचिदिन्दुपाण्डु तरुणा माङ्गल्यमाविष्कृतम्
निष्ठचूतश्चरणोपभोगसुभगो लाक्षारसः केनचित् ।
अन्येभ्यो वनदेवताकरतलैरापर्वभागोत्थितै
दत्तान्याभरणानि तत्किसलयोद्भेदप्रतिद्वन्द्विभिः ॥

Śākuntala, IV.¹

where the gift of silken clothes by *vanadevatās* made with their hands peeping through the clumps is described.

XVIII. MITHUNA : ŚRĪŅĀRA-SAMBHOGA, VIPRALAMBHA

Another architectural motif, so often occurring on monuments, there being practically no structure without this, the only question being the frequency of its occurrence, is the *mithuna* motif. Ordinarily it may mean nothing more than an amorous couple, but treated in proper artistic form, and the imagination and fancy of the sculptor given its full scope, it has given us some of the loveliest commentaries on literary passages and an insight into the rich and glorious life of the best period of art in India. Professor O. C. Gangoly has done a distinct service in drawing the attention of scholars to this most pleasing motif in art.

These *mithuna* representations have to be studied from different aspects. Aja in his lamentation for Indumatī gives the different aspects of his beloved—as his wife, counsellor, companion, pupil in the sphere of fine arts. These aspects and more are depicted with a wealth of meaning in these sculptures and should be studied from that point of view.

The aspect of the lover described with such tenderness by Kālidāsa in his *Meghadūta* has been graphically portrayed in many of the *mithuna* figures in early sculpture. Seated under the cool shade of the *mandāra* tree in the vicinity of the river Mandākinī, the heavenly Gaṅgā, and enjoying the soft and pleasant breeze, in the company of heavenly damsels and in sweet conversation the Yakshas spend their time joyously in the garden of bliss :

मन्दाकिन्याः सलिलशिशिरैः सेव्यमाना मरुद्भि-
र्मन्दाराणामनुतटरुहां छाया वारितोष्णाः ।

Megha., II. 6,²

वैभ्राजाख्यं विबुधवनितावारमुख्यासहायाः
वद्धालापा बहिरुपवनं कामिनो निर्विशन्ति ॥

Megha., II. 10.³

The cup of wine is sometimes present in the hand as it is the fruit of love (*ratiphala*) having the fulfilment of love alone as its fruit and is the product of *kalpavṛksha* itself, and surely can Kālidāsa sing of the life of abandon of the Yakshas in Alakā resorting to the

¹ 'One of the trees gave an auspicious silk, white as the moon ; another gave red dye for the decoration of the feet ; from other trees the sylvan nymphs with their soft hands peeping from between the clumps and vying with the tender shoots, gave jewels (for Śākuntalā).'

² 'Enjoying the cool breeze wafted by the stream of the Ganges and with the sun cut off by the shade of the *mandāra* trees growing on the bank.'

³ 'Lovers resort to the pleasance named Vaibhrajā situated outside (Alakā) and engage themselves in conversation in the company of the best of divine courtesans.'

mansion terrace where seated on the jewelled floor picturesque like the starry sky and with the moon reflected in the wine they enjoy *pānalīlā* :

यस्यां यक्षाः सितमणिमयान्येत्य हर्म्यस्थलानि
ज्योतिश्छायाकुसुमरचनान्युत्तमस्त्रीसहायाः ।
आसेवन्ते मधु रतिफलं कल्पवृक्षप्रसूतं
त्वद्गम्भीरध्वनिषु शनकैः पुष्करेष्वाहतेषु ॥

Megha., II. 5.¹

The last line of the verse mentions the sweet notes of music that regale these happy lovers and there are many sculptures showing these *avarodha-saṅgītakas*, where the women of the household play the different musical instruments.

The great love with which the wine cup is offered to the beloved or received from her is beautifully expressed by Kālidāsa in his line :

मुखार्पणेषु प्रकृतिप्रगल्भाः स्वयं तरङ्गाधरदानदक्षः ।
अनन्यसामान्यकलत्रवृत्तिः पिबत्यसौ पाययते च सिन्धूः ॥

Raghu., XIII. 9.²

and by Māgha in the verse :

दत्तमात्तमदनं दयितेन व्याप्तमातिशयिकेन रसेन ।
सस्वदे मुखसुरं प्रमदाभ्यो नाम रूढमपि च व्युदपादि ॥

Sisupāla. X. 23.³

Sculptures abound in almost every monument showing this aspect of *madhupāna*, and at Ajantā there are lovely *mithuna* paintings showing the same theme. The above verse from the *Raghuvamśa* describes also vividly *adharapāna* of which one of the best sculptural versions is from Koṇārak (pl. VI, 16). It at once recalls the scene of the kiss at dawn described by Kālidāsa :

प्रार्थयन्त शयनोत्थितं प्रियास्तं निशात्ययविसर्गचुम्बनम्

Raghu., XIX. 29.⁴

and also another verse quoted by Appayya Dīkshita in his *Kuvalayānanda* from the *Ku-mārasambhava* where the moon kisses the face of night caressing her dark tresses with his light fingers while her lotus eyes are half closed :

अङ्गुलीभिरिव केशसञ्चयं संनिक्ृष्य तिमिरं मरीचिभिः ।
कुङ्कुमलीकृतसरोजलोचनं चुम्बतीव रजनीमुखं शशी ॥

p. 193.⁵

¹ 'Where (i.e., in Alakā) the Yakshas, resorting to the white marble mansions decorated with flower patterns in bright and dark shades, in the company of excellent damsels, enjoy wine, the fruit of love, produced by the *kalpa* tree, as softly the tabors are played producing a sound deep and noble like your (i.e., cloud's) rumble.'

² 'This (ocean), with a rare quality of spouse not found in others himself drinks and causes to drink the rivers that are bold in offering their mouth, himself being an adept in offering his wavy lip.'

³ 'Passionately given by the beloved one and hence all the more suffused with taste the mouthfuls of wine were enjoyable to the damsels (lit. *pramadā* meaning excessively passionate) making the general term *p amadā* significant by derivation.'

⁴ 'His beloved ones begged of him as he woke up from bed a parting kiss when leaving at daybreak.'

⁵ 'Holding darkness; by his rays like tresses of hair with fingers, the moon seems to kiss the face of night whose eyes of lotuses are closed.'

The line of Kālidāsa

अस्याङ्गलक्ष्मीर्भव दीर्घबालोः

Raghu., VI. 43¹

has its lovely pictorial expression in some of the exquisite paintings of Ajanṭā (fig. 2 and pl. VIII, 23), wherein the aspect of *madhupānī* is also combined.

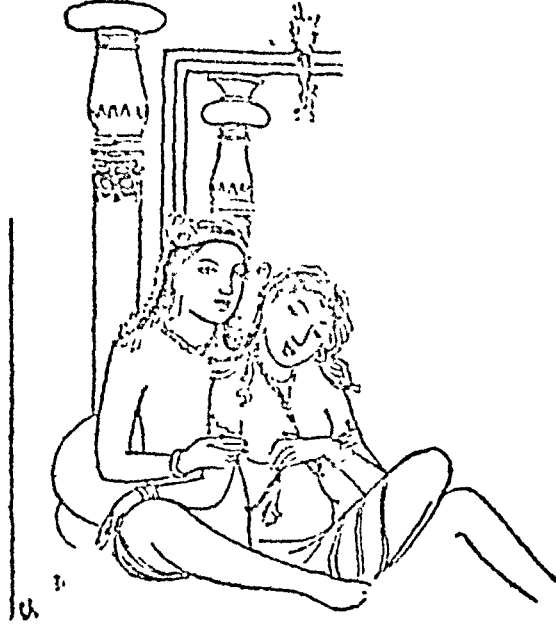


Fig. 2. *Madhupānī* from Ajanṭā—Gupta-Vākāṭaka, 5th century A. D., Hyderabad, Deccan

In one of the sculptures in Nāgārjunakoṇḍa the lady, offered the cup of wine, turns her face away from it (pl. VI, 17). Probably she has nearly forgotten the taste of wine and her newly returned lover should again train her to appreciate its taste, for does not Kālidāsa describe the Yakshī as having given up wine during her lover's absence and her brows as having forgotten their coquettish graces?

प्रत्यादेशादपि च मधुनो विस्मृतभ्रूविलासाम्

Megha., II. 35.²

In another sculpture of *mīthuna* from Nāgārjunakoṇḍa the lover is depicted fondly explaining to his beloved the beauty of a fresh tender shoot or *patra*, a most appropriate jewel for her ear, and which she sees with real feminine appreciative curiosity. It is this same that Kālidāsa describes in his *Raghuvamśa* in the verse :

विलासिनीविभ्रमदन्तपत्रमापाण्डुरं केतकवर्हमन्यः ।

प्रियानितम्बोचितसन्निवेशैर्विपाटयामास युवा नखाग्रैः ॥

Raghu., VI. 17.³

where the prince imprinted his nail-marks on the tender petal, fit jewel for his beloved.

Another sculpture (pl. VI, 18) showing the lady with a parrot on her left wrist looking abashed and trying to offer something to the bird, the lover beside her looking on almost smiling within himself with glee, indeed does recall the verse from the *Amaruśataka*

¹ 'Be the lady to adorn the lap of this long-armed (prince).'

² 'Who has almost forgotten her coquettish play of the eyebrows owing to her abstaining from wine.'

³ 'A youth cut with his nail-tips marks fit for the hip of his beloved on a pale white *ketaka* flower petal which was (as it were) the decorative ivory ear-scroll for sportive lady.'

describing the plight of the *vadhū* of the house at the indiscreet utterances of the parrot, repeating the amorous talk of herself and her lover during the night in the presence of elders, to avoid which she stops its beak with her ruby-decked ear-ring as if offering pomegranate seeds :

दम्पत्योर्निशि जल्पतोर्गृहशुकेनाकणितं यद्वचः
तत्प्रातर्गुरुसन्निधौ निगदतस्तस्यातिमात्रं वधूः ।
कर्णालिम्बितपद्मरागशकलं विन्यस्य चञ्चूपुटे
ब्रीडार्ता विदधाति दाडिमफलव्याजेन वाग्वन्धनम् ॥

Amaruśataka, 15.¹

In the Ellora cave there is a masterpiece of early mediaeval sculpture (pl. VII, 19) than which there is probably no better commentary on the verse

अङ्गेनाङ्गं प्रतनु तनुना गाढतप्तेन तप्तं
साल्लेणाश्रुद्रुतमविरतोत्कण्ठमुत्कण्ठितेन ।
उष्णोच्छ्वासं समधिकतरोच्छ्वासिना दूरवर्ती
संकल्पैस्तैर्विशति विधिना वैरिणा रुद्धमार्गः ॥

Megha., II. 42²

of Kālidāsa, wherein as he explains to the cloud-messenger the only solace of the Yaksha separated from his beloved lay in the close embrace of her at least in fancy, where his emaciated body, tear-stained eye, deep sigh, longing and affliction met hers in exactly the same state. This is probably the best representation of close union, even the physical transcending the mental.

Examples of *kaṇṭhāśleśha* as described by Kālidāsa in the line

माभूदस्याः प्रणयिनि मयि स्वप्नलब्धे कथञ्चि-
त्सद्यः कण्ठच्युतभुजलताग्रन्थि गाढोपगूढम् ।

Megha., II. 37,³

or in the line :

कण्ठाश्लेषप्रणयिनि जने किं पुनर्दूरसंस्थे

Megha., I. 3,⁴

or in :

तं दधन्मैथिलीकण्ठनिर्व्यापारेण बाहुना

Raghu., XV. 56⁵

are often depicted in sculpture and there are examples in Bodh-Gayā, Bharhut, Sāncī, Amarāvati and Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, the last even representing one of the *bandhas* described by Vātsyāyana. But the loveliest of all are probably a small panel from Ajaṇṭā depicting

¹ 'The young lady of the house, terribly tormented by shame at the utterance of the pet parrot in the presence of elders in the morning of all that it had heard spoken by the wedded couple during the night, stops its prattle by putting in its beak her ruby-set ear-ring as if it were pomegranate fruit.'

² 'Being hindered in his attempt by adverse fate, (the Yaksha) from afar, in imagination at least, betakes himself with his body emaciated, deeply distressed, tearful, longing and choked with sighs (in an embrace) to her body, even more emaciated, distressed, wet with tears perennially longing and heaving hot sighs.'

³ 'Let there not be a sudden break in her close embrace with the creeper-like arm entwining the neck, when she has somehow got me, her lover, though only in a dream.'

⁴ 'What when the lover who loves to embrace the neck is far away.'

⁵ 'Wearing it (the bangle) on the hand that has no more a place on Maithilī's (Sitā's) neck.'

kaṇṭhāsiesha (fig. 3 and pl. VIII, 21) and a carving from Paṭṭaḍakal showing the king with his hand on the neck of his favourite queen (pl. VIII, 25).



FIG. 3. *Kaṇṭhāsiesha*, hand entwining neck from Ajanta-Gupta-Vākāṭaka, 5th century A.D., Hyderabad, Deccan

Another panel from Nāgārjunakonda shows the lady refusing to reply to the courteous queries of the lover who draws her closer to himself and reminds us of Kālidāsa's verse

व्याहृता प्रनिवृत्तो न मन्मथे भक्तमेच्छदस्त्वस्मिन्नांगुलम् ।
मेवमेव सप्त जयन्तं पराङ्मुखी ना नभाषि स्तन्ये पिनाकिनः ॥

Kumāra., VIII. 2¹

and the half line *gantun-aichehhaḍ-avalambit-āmsukā*² is well-portrayed in a nearly contemporary sculpture from Bodhi-Gayā (pl. VII, 20). Here the lover is actually shown as pulling the garment of his beloved who tries to escape from him with all the shy reserve of the newly-wedded bride, her companion enjoying the sight of the fun from behind the screen shown in between to suggest that the couple are alone. Śiva's amours with Pārvatī as described by Kālidāsa in his *Kumārasambhava* may have invited criticism at the hands of later-day literary critics as in the *auchityavichāracharchā*, but in this human representation there is no *auchityabhāṅga* and all is well in love and sport.

The *anunaya* aspect of the spouse, angry with her lover for his indiscreet sport with another or for having incurred her displeasure on some other account, being pacified by coaxing, has also fine representation in sculpture. One of the panels from Nāgārjunakonda is no doubt a clever portrayal and almost a sculptural commentary on Kālidāsa's verse addressed to ladies angry with their lovers and not easily appeased :

त्यजन् मानमलं वत विग्रहैर्न पुनरेति गतं चतुरं वयः ।
परभूताभिरितीव निवेदिते स्मरमते रमतेस्म वधूजनः ॥

Raghu., IX. 47.³

¹ 'When spoken to she replied not, when her garment was pulled she tried to escape, on the bed she lay with her face turned away, yet she contributed to the pleasure of Pināki (Śiva).'

² 'When her garment was pulled she tried to escape.'

³ 'Shed your false dignity and anger; enough with your quarrels; youth gone never returns:' as if so informed by the cuckoos the ladies engaged themselves in the sport of love.'

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सेवते स्म शयनं पराङ्मुखी सा तथापि रतये पिनाकिनः ॥

Kumāra., VIII. 2¹

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² 'When her garment was pulled she tried to escape.'

³ "Shed your false dignity and anger; enough with your quarrels; youth gone never returns:" as if so informed by the cuckoos the ladies engaged themselves in the sport of love.'

But there is probably nothing more beautiful and expressive than the Chola sculpture from the great temple of Śiva at Gaṅgaikonda cholapuram built by the great emperor, conqueror of South East Asia, Rājendra the Great, representing Gaṅgādharāmūrti, Śiva shown receiving Gaṅgā on his locks and Pārvatī vexed at the prospect of a co-wife and with her face turned away from her lord, being appeased by him with coaxing words and soft caressing of her chin in praise of her great beauty impossible in any other (pl. VII, 21).

This *anunaya* leads us on to the other question of the *nāyaka* styled *śaṭha* or rogue who appeases his jealous wife after dallying with another and disappointing the former. It is this aspect of the lover that is referred to in verses like

धन्या केयं स्थिता ते शिरसि शशिकला किं नु नामैतदस्या
नामैवास्यास्तदेतत्परिचितमपि ते विस्मृतं कस्य हेतोः ।
नारी पृच्छामि नेन्दुं कथयतु विजया न प्रमाणं यदीन्दु-
देव्या निह्नुतुमिच्छोरिति सुरसरितं शठ्यमव्याद्विभोर्वः ॥

Mudrārākshasa, I. 1,¹

one of the Nāndi verses from the *Mudrārākshasa*, where Pārvatī searchingly questions Śiva who hides Gaṅgā in his matted locks and evades her question by clever replies. The same idea of the jealousy of the wife at the prospect of a co-wife and the rush of anger tried to be appeased by the husband is also clearly given in the opening verse of the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates, where, however, Śiva, the wearer of Gaṅgā on his locks, is this time suspected by Pārvatī unnecessarily, mistaking her own image reflected in the ruby on the hood of his serpent ornament, and spurned, though most lovingly he is at her feet, pressing to have her close embrace :

स्वस्ति श्रीकण्ठकण्ठाभरणभुजगराण्मूर्ध्नि माणिक्यमध्ये
दृष्ट्वात्मीयां सलज्जा प्रतिकृतिमपरामङ्गनां शङ्कमाना ।
आश्लेषालोलचित्तं कृतचरणनतिप्रार्थनं वो भवानी
दिश्यात्पश्यन्त्यधीरं निजपतिमनिशं सेष्यमर्धक्षणेन ॥

South Indian Inscriptions, III, p. 383.²

Kālidāsa has a beautiful picture of this type of *nāyaka* and *nāyikā*, who, in this case, is known as *khaṇḍitā*. In the *Meghadūta* there is the *khaṇḍitā* described in verse:

तस्मिन्काले नयनसलिलं योषितां खण्डितानां
शान्तिं नेयं प्रणयिभिरितो वर्त्म भानोस्त्यजाशु ।
प्रालेयास्रं कमलवदनात्सोऽपि हर्तुं नलिन्याः
प्रत्यावृत्तस्त्वयि कररुधि स्यादनल्पाभ्यसूयः ॥

Megha., I. 39.³

¹ “ Who is this blessed one on your head ? ” “ It is *śaṣikalā* (the crescent moon). ” “ Is it her name ? ” “ It is no doubt the term for it ; and how is it that though it is quite familiar you have forgotten it ? ” “ I am asking of a woman and not the moon. ” “ Then let Vijayā explain if you do not trust the moon ”—may the duplicity of Śiva in this strain in trying to hide the heavenly stream from Devī protect you’.

² ‘ Hail ! May Bhavānī (Pārvatī) grant you prosperity, who, seeing a reflection of herself in the gem on the head of the lord of serpents (serving as) neck-jewel of Śrīkaṇṭha (Śiva), and suspecting that to be another woman, and (consequently) bashful and jealous tremulously looks askance all the time at her husband praying prostrate at her feet with his heart yearning to embrace her. ’

³ ‘ At that hour the tears in the eyes of disappointed ladies should be stopped by the lovers ; so please move away from the path of the sun as he would badly resent your obstructing his rays as he comes up to dispel the tears of dew from the lotus face of the lotus pond . ’

In the *Raghuvamśa*, Agnivarṇa is mentioned as sometimes getting *mekhalābandha* or captivity by means of the strings of the *mekhalā* of the offended lady-love for sporting with another :

अङ्गुलीकिसलयागृतर्जनं भ्रूविभङ्गकुटिलं च वीक्षणम् ।
मेखलाभिरसकृच्च बन्धनं वञ्चयन्प्रणयिनीरवाप सः ॥

Raghu., XIX. 17.¹

This goes to a pitch when, somewhat intoxicated by the taste of wine and naturally passionate and offended, Irāvati flogs Agnimitra, prostrate at her feet and caught in the act of dallying with Mālavikā, with her *mekhalākālāpa* or girdle-strings :

वाष्पासारा हेमकाञ्चीगुणेन
श्रोणीविम्बादप्युपेक्षाच्युतेन ।
चण्डी चण्डं हन्तुमभ्युद्यता मां
विद्युद्दाम्ना मेघराजीव विन्ध्यम् ॥

Mālavikā., III. 21.²

The sweetest expression of this theme is, however, from the *Amaruśataka*, where the intense love and devotion of the wife agitates her all the more when she knows that this is the first offence of her lover and when he at her feet says, 'Never were you ever so angry ; why are you silent ?' She knows she was never given cause to be so and she replies nothing but just profusely sheds tears :

सुतनु जहिहि मौनं पश्य पादानतं मां
न खलु तव कदाचित्कोप एवविधोऽभूत् ।
इति निगदति नाथे तिर्यगामीलिताक्ष्या
नयनजलमनल्पं मुक्तमुक्तं न किञ्चित् ॥

Amaruśataka, 34.³

In the *Meghadūta* the Yaksha tells the *megha* of an incident to create trust in the mind of his beloved about the bonafides of the cloud, of how one night the Yakshī awoke from her sleep suddenly crying and smilingly replied to the queries of her lord by telling him that she saw him in a dream sporting with a damsel :

भूयश्चाह त्वमयि शयने कण्ठलग्ना पुरा मे
निद्रां गत्वा किमपि रुदती सस्वरं विप्रबुद्धा ।
सान्तर्हासं कथितमसकृत्पृच्छतश्च त्वया मे
दृष्टः स्वप्ने कितव रमयन्कामपि त्वं मयेति ॥

Megha., II. 50.⁴

¹ 'By disappointing his beloved ladies, he received from them a threat expressed by the shake of the finger tender like a sprout, by a dark look with the brow raised in anger, or often by the punishment of being bound with their girdle string.'

² 'Shedding a rain of tears, the angry lady attempts to give me a sound thrashing with her golden girdle string, carelessly loosened from her broad hip, even as the row of clouds strikes the Vindhya mountain with a streak of lightning.'

³ "Oh lovely one ! Break this silence. Look ! I am prostrate at your feet. Never was your anger like this ;" as thus her lord spoke she with her eyes turned and half-closed, shed no small quantity of tears but never spoke a word.'

⁴ 'Further he (i.e., the Yaksha) said "Oh my lady ! You remember how long ago once holding on to me by the neck (in embrace) on the bed you woke up from your sleep crying audibly, and on my repeatedly asking you, you replied laughing within yourself that you saw me as a veritable rogue sporting with some woman".'

In one of the sculptures from the Bhūtesar rail there is on the top panel the representation of a lady angry with her lover in her aspect as *khanditā* and also appropriately answering the description of *bhāminī* who should be *kopānā*, of hot temper.

There is a panel on the rail from Bodh-Gayā showing a prince with his arm on the neck of one of his ladies and his other hand toying with the chin of another, one on either side of him recalling a similar mediaeval sculpture from Bhuvaneswar (pl. VII, 22). There is yet another scene of a prince seated on a cushion and lovingly spoken to by his queens and women of the harem, the principal ones seated on either side of him and around him (pl. XIV, 44). In front of him is a dance play that he watches with interest and soft music accompanied by orchestra full in its equipment. This *avarodhasaṅgītaka*, music in the harem, speaks of the high accomplishments and appreciative sense of the *nāgaraka* that the prince is as also a typical example of *dakṣiṇanāyaka*, described as equally affectionate towards all his wives.

A great literary example has been given by Vālmīki in the person of Rāvaṇa who is likened to a bull of the class surrounded by numerous cow-elephants. Another fine example is the picture of Kuśa enjoying *jalakrīḍā* with his numerous ladies of the harem. The splendid description given in the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Rāvaṇa and his sleeping wives like a garland of flowers, all intertwined, has been almost exactly repeated in a suitable situation by Aśvaghosha. Vālmīki elaborately describes how the sleeping damsels were hugging each a musical instrument; every attitude conceivable has been recorded by the poet in a vivid picture which has been made to live again in carvings in miniature from a *chaitya*-slab from Amarāvati depicting the scene of Siddhārtha in his palace before his renunciation (pl. IX, 27), the scene chosen by Aśvaghosha for echoing Vālmīki. The description of the noble ladies of Rāvaṇa's sleeping harem is interesting for comparison with the sculpture :

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 तेषु तेष्ववकाशेषु प्रसुप्तास्तनुमध्यमाः ॥
 अङ्गहारैस्तथैवान्या कोमलैर्नृत्यशालिनी ।
 विन्यस्तशुभसर्वाङ्गी प्रसुप्ता वरवर्णिनी ॥
 काचिद्वीणां परिष्वज्य प्रसुप्ता संप्रकाशते ।
 महानदीप्रकीर्णैव नलिनी पोतमाश्रिता ॥
 अन्या कक्षगतेनैव मङ्गुकेनासितेक्षणा ।
 प्रसुप्ता भामिनी भाति बालपुत्रेव वत्सला ॥
 पटहं चारुसर्वाङ्गी न्यस्य शेते शुभस्तनी ।
 चिरस्य रमणं लब्ध्वा परिष्वज्यव कामिनी ॥
 काचिद्वीणां परिष्वज्य सुप्ता कमललोचना ।
 वरं प्रियतमं गृह्य सकामेव हि कामिनी ॥
 अन्या कनकसंकाशैर्मृदुपीनैर्मनोरमैः ।
 मृदङ्गं परिविद्व्याङ्गैः प्रसुप्ता मत्तलोचना ॥
 भुजपाशान्तरस्थेन कक्षगेन कुशोदरी ।
 पणवेन सहानिन्त्या सुप्ता मदकृतश्रमा ॥

डिण्डिमं परिगृह्णान्या तथैवासक्तडिण्डिमा ।
 प्रसुप्ता तरुणं वत्समुपगूह्येव भामिनी ॥
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Rāmāyaṇa, V. 10. 35-45.¹

The sculptural presentation of this theme is perfect in all respects, all the different instruments being shown, and the ladies in postures exactly as narrated in literature. The rich life of the period is graphically presented, and we have an insight into the high cultural attainments of the women.

The case of Saubhari, the sage, who, infatuated in his old age, married all the daughters of Māndhātā, but still presented himself individually to every one at the same time as a beautiful youth by his miraculous powers, and that of Kṛishṇa, who appeared at the same time multiplying himself to suit the number of Gopīs for the *rāsakrīdā*, are but examples of the supernatural in a *dakṣiṇanāyaka*, but this is not so much to be taken into account in considering the usual and normal *dakṣiṇanāyaka* as such.

Vishṇu as Purushottama, the best among men, combines in himself with a rare *dākṣiṇya* both learning and fortune as his consorts, and this tradition is very common in North Indian sculpture, where Vishṇu is represented with Śrī and Vāgdevī as his consorts. Even in a king, who is in a way a Purushottama, this concept of combining learning and fortune has been always desired and associated, and a queen comes in as the third and a co-wife of these two. The idea has been most beautifully expressed on a coin not yet definitely attributed to any Gupta monarch but tentatively given under those of Śaśāṅka with a legend on the reverse Narendrāditya (pl. XXIV, 77). On the obverse the king is seated on a lion-throne attended by two ladies and on the reverse a lady stands with a lotus in her hand and surrounded by lotuses in bud and bloom with a swan near her feet in front of her. This is easily understood by us when we recall the verse of Kālidāsa describing the prince of Aṅga in his *svayamvara* of Indumatī. Sunandā, who described the princes to Indumatī, asks her to be the third spouse of the prince, already the abode of the goddess of Fortune and Learning, as she was worthy of this by her sweet address and beauty of form :

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² 'In this (prince), both Śrī and Sarasvatī (Prosperity and Learning), usually by nature apart, dwell together; and you, Oh ! auspicious one ! are worthy of being their third, because of your lustrous beauty and sweet address.'

The lotuses symbolize beauty and the swan sweet address. The figure of the lady amidst the lotuses and the swan suggests the form of the queen comparable to that of the goddess of Royal Fortune herself. And it is this that is sought even in blessings as expressed in the verse :

परस्परविरोधिन्योरेकसंश्रयदुर्लभम् ।
सङ्गतं श्रीसरस्वत्योर्भूतयेस्तु सदा सताम् ॥

Vikramorvaśīya, VI.¹

and Viṣṇu here is a *dakṣiṇānāyaka*, with equal affection for Śrī and Vāk.

The other tradition which obtains in South India is that of Viṣṇu with his consort Śrī and Bhū, Fortune and the goddess of Earth ; and literature abounds in instances of descriptions of the king as wedded to Śrī or Rājyaśrī and Pṛithvī. In one line Kālidāsa describes the king as the bridegroom of the *vadhū*, Rājyaśrī :

आसीदतिशयप्रेक्ष्यः स राज्यश्रीवधूवरः

Raghu., XVII, 25.²

Elsewhere Vaśiṣṭha consoles Aja lamenting for the loss of his queen Indumatī by reminding him that kings are *kalatṛins* (having wife) by Vasumatī or the Earth :

तदलं तदपायचिन्तया विपद्रुत्पत्तिमतामुपस्थिता ।
वसुधेयमवेक्ष्यतां त्वया वसुमत्या हि नृपाः कलत्रिणः ॥

Raghu., VIII. 83.³

A beautiful example of the king truly wedded only by the queen and the lady of Fortune echoing the verse :

कलत्रवन्तमात्मानमवरोधे महत्यपि ।
तया मेने मनस्विन्या लक्ष्म्या च वसुधाधिपः ॥

Raghu., I. 32⁴

of Kālidāsa is seen on a coin of Chandragupta I with the king and his queen Kumāradevī on the obverse and Rājya-Lakshmī on the reverse (pl. XXIV, 78). The principal queen and the lady of Royal Fortune were the two by whom the king considered himself a wedded man, though having a large harem, and the lady in flesh and blood being a *manasvinī* is shown in closer contact with her lord on the obverse of the coin.

Kṛiṣṇa's *dākṣiṇya* in trying to satisfy Satyabhāmā and Rukmiṇī with the same *pārijāta*, obtained with great difficulty from heaven, seemingly equally distributed between both by planting it in one's house and allowing it to drop in that of the other, is suggested by showing one on either side. The sculpture from Bodh-Gayā and Amarāvati does not

¹ 'May the union of Śrī and Sarasvatī, who are mutually opposed and rarely come together, auger for the prosperity of all good men.'

² 'That bridegroom of the lady of Royal Prosperity appeared exceedingly charming to behold.'

³ 'So brood no more on her death, as death is inevitable for every being that is born ; you should look to the earth, as it is only through the earth that kings are to be considered mated.'

⁴ 'The king, though he possessed a large harem, considered himself possessed of a wife by that noble queen and by the goddess of Prosperity.'

represent the type of *dākṣiṇya* presented in the verse :

स्नाता त्रिदश कुन्त्येऽनन्तमुना वारोज्ज्वराजस्यु-
सूतं नात्राग्नं जिता कमलया देवी प्रमासाय च ।
इत्यन्तःपुरगुन्दरी प्रणि मया विजाय विजायिते
देवेनाप्रतिपत्तिमृगमया दिवाः स्थितं नात्रकाः ॥

Sāhityadarpaṇa, III. 35,¹

but actually it is an *anunaya* of different types for his different wives.

The type of prince depicted in the Amarāvati sculpture is *dhīralalita* who is absorbed in *kalās* or fine arts. He carries a *līlākamala* in his hand, symbol of his artistic taste and as described in the *Raghuvamśa*, where the *śūṅgīcheshitā* of one of the princes assembled for the *śrayamvara* of Indumatī consisted of twirling the sportive lotus making the bees buzz around along with the perfume, —an excellent theme even for coins for showing the artistic taste of the beautiful prince, as on the couch type of Chandragupta II with the significant legend *rūpākṛitī* (pl. XXIV, 79), emphasizing not only his personal charm but also his sense of the beautiful and recalling to our mind the verse of Kālidāsa :

कचिककाभ्यामपसृज्यालमानोदयभाभितनद्विरेकम् ।
नजोभिन्नः पन्थितवन्धि नीलारविन्दं भ्रमराञ्जनकार ॥

Raghu., VI. 13,²

this also reminds us of the verse of Vidyānātha :

गोष्ठीभिः पन्थितवन्धुगणान्पद्मं नीमीमभिः
नन्तारस्वनमार्गं दर्शनार्थः सुवर्तः कवीन्धीनम् ।
नन्दोत्तोरपन्थितदहन्यपिदुर्गतोऽश्वयोग्यदमे-
धिवन्तान्निदि वैष्णिकान्विहस्ते श्रीकाकनीन्द्रो नृपः ॥

Pratāparudrīya, nāyaka-pakaraṇa, 21.³

This same *līlākamala* in the hand of the *nāyikā* is described in the *Meghadūta* in the verse :

हस्ते नीलाकमलमन्त्रके वानकुन्दानुविद्धं
नीता नोभ्रप्रसवरजसा पाण्डुतामानने श्रीः ।
चूडापाशे नवकुर्वकं चारु कर्णे शिरीषं
सीमन्ते च त्वदुपगमजं यत्र नीपं वधूनाम् ॥

Megha., II. 2.⁴

¹ "The daughter of the king of Kuntala is awaiting after her bath ; this is the turn for the sister of the king of Aṅga ; Kamalā has won this very night (for herself) by playing dice (with you) ; the (chief) queen has also to be appeased today " thus when I informed him all that I had learnt about the beauties of the harem the king stood for two or three hours with his mind blank with indecision."

² "One of the princes twirled the sportive lotus held in his hands by the stem, its moving petals warding off the bees around and its pollen inside forming circles."

³ "Śrī Kākatīndra, the king, amuses himself in his court by pleasing bands of scholars by disquisitions covering the six systems of philosophy, poets by fine literary pieces that suggest the highways in poetry, and *vijā* players by compositions suggestive of the highest truths of the philosophy of music and well adapted for the use of musical instruments."

⁴ "Where (i.e., in Alakā) in the hands of the damsel is a sportive lotus, jasmine buds are strung on the ringlets of hair, the beauty of the face is rendered bright by the pollen of the *lathra* flower, fresh *kuruvaka* shoots adorn the lovely braid, beautifully on the ear rests the *śirisha* flower, and on the parting of the hair is the *nīpa* flower which appears on your (cloud's) advent (i.e., in the rainy season)."

which is a general picture of *yakshavadhūsāmānya*, Yaksha damsels in general. The theme in sculpture is so common that probably there is no bronze or sculpture of Pārvatī or Sītā or Rukmīnī or Śrī or Bhū or Tārā or, for that matter, any goddess or queen or damsel without the hand being represented either with a lotus or lily or when that is absent at least the hand in the *kaṭakāmukha* pose in the attitude of carrying the flower, the presence of which is suggested by *vyāṅgya* rather than shown by *vāchya*.

The lotus and the lily here are usually shown as the *līlākusuma* of the senior and junior consorts when they are represented together on either side of the *nāyaka* who may be Viṣṇu or Kṛiṣṇa or Kārttikeya and so forth ; and another similar distinguishing feature in the case of the consorts suggesting their age and rank is the presence or absence of *kuchabandha* usually associated with the younger one, as the elder *nāyikā* is a *prauḍhā*, whose youth is complete and who is not as shy as the junior one, who is still a *mugdā* or *madhyā*, still her love subordinated to her sense of shyness and shame.

In Nāgārjunakoṇḍa there is a sculpture of a *mīthuna*, the lady holding a *līlākamala*, comparing it to the *padmarāga* ear-jewel of the lustre of lotus with the emphasis on the meaning of the word *padmarāga* and her own *rāga* or love for the lover beside her. This is an expressive sculpture of a *Nāga* couple most beautifully executed and full of meaning (pl. IX, 28).

The *sachiva* aspect of the wife, the like of which Aja refers in his lamentation for Indumatī, is portrayed in sculpture in the panel from Amarāvati representing the presentation of the sandal casket and wreath to king Bandhuma, where, if not the queens, the daughters of the king are seated near the king as counsellors ; and there are other scenes from Amarāvati where the queens take their place near their consorts as counsellors.

The aspect of companionship, also referred to by Aja, is profusely illustrated in sculpture. A carving like the one depicting the woman resting her hand on the shoulder of her lover holding a wine cup in her hand is simple, compared to more expressive representation. In Nāgārjunakoṇḍa a panel shows a lover playing with a garland arranged on the braid of his beloved in pure fun as she admires her charms looking at her face in the mirror held by her. Among the numerous garland-bearers from Amarāvati there are some representing *mīthunas* or couples carrying the large flower-wreath at intervals (pl. X, 30). Here the woman lends a helping hand to the man as a companion and the full expression of the *saptapadī* of the *vivāha*, which traces companionship and the meaning of the yoke placed on the head of the bride signifying her place along with her husband as jointly yoked for a common purpose in life as companion, is fully answered. That is why in some of the panels alternately man and woman are shown resting a hand on the shoulder of the other conveying the sense of absolute companionship.

A sculpture from Aihole temple showing the lover softly pressing the feet of his beloved (pl. VIII, 26) reminds us strongly of Kālidāsa's description of the Yaksha in similar attitude :

वामश्चात्स्याः कररुहपदैर्मुच्यमानो मदीयै-
मुक्ताजालं चिरपरिचितं त्याजितो दैवगत्या ।

सम्भोगान्ते मम समुचितो हस्तसंवाहनानां
यास्यत्यूरुः सरसकदलीस्तम्भगौरश्चलत्वम् ॥

Megha., II. 35.¹

This is another pointer to the aspect of *sakhī* or companion mentioned by Aja in his lamentation for his beloved.

The aspect of the beloved as a pupil in fine arts is best illustrated in the panels depicting the story of Udayana and Vāsavadattā ; but there are others besides. There are panels in Bodh-Gayā showing the lover and the lady, one or the other carrying the *vīṇā*, which typifies the loveliest strains of music. The *vīṇā* here represented is the *saptatantrī* type, specially described so in the *Mṛichchhakaṭika*, and this early harp type is placed on the lap and played with the fingers and the plectrum *koṇa*, of which a beautiful word picture is given in the *Svapnavāsavadatta*, where Udayana refers to the playing of the instrument by Vāsavadattā with her attention distracted by her love for him resulting in the dropping of the *koṇa*. This is often carved in early sculpture, and some of the finest examples come from Amarāvati where the harp-shaped instrument and the small plectrum can be better understood than by a study of the verse ; and the curiosity roused by the verse as to what the shape of the instrument is can only be answered by the sculptures. It is this *vīṇā* that has been described in the *Mṛichchhakaṭika* as a gem but not from the ocean and it is a great *vinodasthāna*. Proficiency in this instrument was always considered the greatest accomplishment, and though music is properly speaking the sphere more of woman rather than man—it is Sarasvatī that presides over the *vīṇā* and music—we know more instances of men proficient in playing the *vīṇā*, the classical instance being Udayana of Kauśāmbī, who could even snare animals by the lovely strains of instrumental music, and it was a privilege for an accomplished princess like Vāsavadattā to learn the instrument from him and his whole story rests on the desire of king Chaṇḍapradīyota of Ujjayinī to get his daughter taught by Udayana, who had for this purpose to be got by a strategem which also ultimately rested on the king's great musical talents appealing even to animals he was out hunting. Another great instance of an emperor extremely proficient on this glorious instrument, which has now disappeared in that early form from the land of its birth but still survives in distant Burma, is the renowned Samudragupta, among whose issues of coins is the famous lyre type (pl. XXIV, 80) showing the king seated on couch playing the *vīṇā* and a graphic description and full account of his high accomplishment in music putting to shame even divine minstrels like Nārada and Tumburu is narrated in his Allāhābād pillar Inscription :

निशितविदग्धमतिगान्धर्वललितैर्व्रीडितत्रिदशपतिगुरुतुम्बुरुनारदादेः

Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, III, p. 8.²

Many plaques have been unearthed in different places like Kauśāmbī, Rāmnagar, Rāj-ghāt, Bhītā, Mathurā, etc., among which the *nāgaraka* or his beloved is often shown carrying a *vīṇā*. The tremendous influence of the *vīṇā* on the human mind is clearly brought home

¹ ' There will be a quivering in her right thigh, white like the lushy plantain stalk, now bereft of my nail marks and by adverse fate divested of pearl-embroidered decorations which all along it was used to, and accustomed to shampooing at my hands after the sexual union. '

² ' Who put to shame the preceptor of the celestial king (i.e., Bṛihaspati), Tumburu, Nārada and others by his sharp and masterly intellect, knowledge of music and fine arts. '

by the scene from Buddha's life so often depicted in sculpture—the visit of Śakra to see Buddha in Indraśailaguhā, where his musician Pañchaśikha plays the *vinā* and creates an atmosphere of joy in the Master to easily obtain the interview.

Three beautiful verses of Māgha :

आमृशाद्भिरभितो वलिवीचीर्लोलमानवितताङ्गुलिहस्तैः ।
 सुभ्रुवामनुभवात्प्रतिपेदे मुष्टिमेयमिति मध्यमभीष्टैः ॥
 प्राप्य नाभिनदमज्जनमाशु प्रस्थितं निवसनग्रहणाय ।
 आप्नीविकमरुन्ध किल स्त्री वल्लभस्य करमात्मकराभ्याम् ॥
 आयताङ्गुलिरभूदतिरिक्तः सुभ्रुवां कश्चिमशालिनि मध्ये ।
 श्रोणिषु प्रियकरः पृथुलासु स्पर्शमाप सकलेन तलेन ॥

Sisupālavadha, X. 59, 60 and 65 ¹

describing the sport of a *dampati* where the lover feels the body of the beloved is exceedingly well depicted in a sculpture from Nāgārjunakoṇḍa (pl. IX, 29) where the coy damsel is tackled by the lover with great gentleness reminding us of the verse of the *Raghuvamśa* ;

सदयं वुभुजे महाभुजः सहसोद्वेगमियं व्रजेदिति ।
 अचिरोपनतां स मेदिनीं नवपाणिग्रहणां वधूमिव ॥

Raghu., VIII. 7, ²

wherein the tender approach in love contrasted with rude coarse intrusion is clearly set forth. The half-closed eyes of the damsel suggesting the great pleasure and satisfaction with which she beams and of which her face is a great index like that of her lover in the sculpture is graphically described in another verse of Māgha :

आशु लङ्घितवतीष्टकराग्रे नीविमर्धमुकुलीकृतदृष्ट्या ।
 रक्तवैणिकहृताधरतन्त्रीमण्डलक्वणितचारु चुकूजे ॥

Sisupālavadha, X. 64, ³

and probably with even greater force runs the line :

स्पृष्टा तेन तथैव जातपुलका प्राप्ता पुनर्मोहनम्

Sāhityadarpaṇa, example under *ākṛāntanāyikā*, 3. 60 ⁴

¹ 'The beloved hands with the fingers spread apart and moving gently rubbing around the wavy folds on the stomach of the damsels with lovely eyebrow : reached by experience the waist (so slender as) to be encircled by the fist. Having got a dip in the stream of the navel it started for pulling the garment and near the waist-knot the damsel stopped the hand of her lover with her own. On the attenuated waist of the beautiful-browed lady the hand of the lover with spread fingers appeared projecting out but on the large hips its entire surface touched it.'

² 'The mighty-armed prince enjoyed the recently acquired dominion with tenderness like a newly wedded wife as undue force would only cause agitation.'

³ 'When the hand of the lover crossed the waist-knot, she with her eyes half-closed sweetly ejaculated with her lips as if it were the sweet twang of the strings of a lute struck by a passionate lyrist.'

⁴ 'Touched by him, thus again horripulated she fainted once more.'

This sculpture also reminds us of the verse in the *Meghadūta*, where, when the lover's hand is on the knot of the garment to free it, the Yakshī, being shy, tries in vain to put out the effulgent ruby lights by means of handfuls of scented powder thrown at them, as here the sculpture shows the woman with her fist in such an attitude. The swan in the vicinity is attracted by the musical sweet notes of the *mañjīras* or anklets and suggests her lovely gait.

Another exquisite sculpture from Bhuvaneswar (pl. X, 31) presents the sporting of the lover's hand on the body of the beloved one as described in the verse of the *Mahābhārata* :

अयं स रशनोत्कर्षी पीनस्तनविमर्दनः ।

नाभ्यूरुजघनस्पर्शी नीवीविस्रंसनः करः ॥¹

The verse :

XI, 24, 19.¹

स्वामिन्मङ्गुरयालकं सतिलकं भालं विलासिन्कुरु

प्राणेश त्रुटितं पयोधरतटे हारं पुनर्योजय ।

इत्युक्त्वा सुरतावसानसमये संपूर्णचन्द्रानना

स्पृष्टा तेन तथैव जातपुलका प्राप्ता पुनर्मोहितम् ॥

from the *Śrīṅgāratilaka* quoted in the *Sāhityadarpaṇa* (3.60) giving the type of *nāyikā* known as *ākrañtanāyikā*, commanding the lord who is her own, instructing him to dress her hair, to mark her forehead with vermilion and tie up the pearl string sundered on her breast after her sport with him and again on his touch experiencing horripulation and almost unconscious with a reeling sensation of joy born of passion is probably well depicted in the sculpture from Nāgārjunakoṇḍa (pl. X, 32) where the lover is shown lifting up the beaming face of his beloved by his hand toying with her chin, while he decorates her coiffure with a crest-jewel while she holds another string of probably pearls in her hand to be adjusted by him after this on her neck ; or it may be that it is the *mekhalā* or the girdle string composed of pearls which she is handling to be handed over to him next for properly adjusting it on her hips.

There is a passage in the *Mṛichchhakaṭika*, where the Vidūshaka remarks that no other vessels on the ocean need be enquired of a *veśavāsa* like that of Vasantasena as the *stana* and *nitamba* are *yānas* enough on the smooth gliding waters of *śrīṅgāra* :

किं तत्र पृच्छ्यते । युष्माकं खलु प्रेमनिर्मलजले मदनसमुद्रे स्तननितम्बजघनान्येव यानपात्राणि मनोहराणि ।

Mṛichchhakaṭika, IV.³

Māgha puts this in very picturesque fashion in a verse describing the turbulent streams of Madana or love with whirlpools of navel drowning the *romarājī* resounding with

¹ 'This is the hand that pulled the girdle, pressed the ample breasts, touched the navel, thighs and hips, and loosened the knot of the lower garment.'

² 'Oh my lord ! dress up my ringlets of hair, oh pleasant one ! add a *tilak* mark on my forehead, oh my beloved one ! please do arrange again on my pitcher-like breasts the necklace that has snapped,' so said the lady with face bright as the full moon after her union with her lover and touched by him, thus again horripulated she fainted once more.'

³ 'Why ask this ! your breasts, waist and hips are indeed alluring vessels on the pellucid water of affection in the ocean of love.'

hamsakas and other jewels ; the *hamsaka* having a double meaning of anklet and swan has suggestive charm here :

मदनरसमहौघपूर्णनाभीहृदपरिवाहितरोमराजयस्ताः ।

सरित इव सविभ्रमप्रयातप्रणदितहंसकभूषणा विरेजुः ॥

Sisupāla., VII. 23.¹

A sculpture from Nāgārjunakoṇḍa gives this pleasant picture of the flowing stream of *śringāra*, *madanarasamahauḡha* as Māgha puts it, and actually the damsels are shown swimming in the stream of love, and suggestively enough the sense of Māgha is anticipated as it were, and both the *hamsaka*, *raśanā*, the resounding jewel *par excellance*, and the swan are shown specially and pointedly for conveying this sense suggestively ; and the remark of the Vidūshaka in the *Mṛichchhakatika* is more than effectively illustrated by the position of the swimming damsel whose *stana* and *jaghana* are shown shaped exactly like a *yānapātra* gliding on a stream (pl. X, 33).

The *abhisārikā*, one of the *nāyikās*, is so intensely passionate that she goes to meet her lover in accordance with the tryst already arranged with him. This has often formed a beautiful theme in literature. There are two types, one a *vadhū* and another a *veśyā*. The former avoids publicity and goes quietly avoiding the sound of the jingling *mañjira* and the *karakaṅkaṇas*, *raśanā*, etc. The other dresses gaudily, decks herself with all jewels, perfumes herself with flowers, garlands and unguents and with her anklets and the multi-stringed girdle jingling awhile proceeds to meet her lover. In contrast with the mode of silencing the resounding ornaments :

उत्क्षिप्तं करकङ्कणद्वयमिदं वद्धा दृढं मेखला
यत्नेन प्रतिपादिता मुखरयोर्मञ्जीरयोर्मूकता ।
आरब्धे रभसान्मया प्रियसखि क्रीडाभिसारोत्सवे
चण्डालस्तिमिरावगुण्ठनपटक्षेपं विधत्ते विधुः ॥

Sāhityadarpaṇa, 3.76²

is the description of Vasantasenā in the *Mṛichchhakatika*, who, by her resounding jewels specially the anklets and the *raśanā* or girdle probably with little tinkling bells, *kshudra-ghaṇṭikās*, and flower garlands wafting fine perfume, reveals herself and her movements to the passionate fool Śākāra who follows her in the twilight :

विटः—काणेलीमातः, अस्ति किञ्चिच्चित्तं यदुपलक्षयसि ।

शकारः—भावे भावे, किञ्चिन्न । [भाव भाव किमिव ।]

विटः—भूषणशब्दं सौरभ्यानुविद्धं माल्यगन्धं वा ।

शकारः—शुणामि मल्लगन्धम्, अन्धमल्लपूलिदए उणणशिश्राए ण शुब्बत्तं पेक्खामि
भूषणशब्दम् । [शृणोमि माल्यगन्धम्, अन्धकारपूरितया पुनर्नासिकया
न सुब्बत्तं पय्यामि भूषणशब्दम् ।]

¹ 'Those (damsels) shone like rivers with their flowing stream of love filling the deep navel lake and flowing past the soft line of hairs above it, with the jingling of the anklets resounding like swans as they moved with graceful away.'

² 'The pair of bracelets was pulled up, the girdle was tightened, with great effort the jingling anklets were rendered mute, oh my dear (lady) friend ! when I suddenly started sportively in festive mood to meet my lover the scoundrel of a moon removes the veil cloth of darkness.'

विटः—(जनान्तिकम् ।) वसन्तसेने,

कामं प्रदोषतिमिरेण न दृश्यसे त्वं सौदामनीव जलदोदरसन्धिलीना ।
त्वां सूचयिष्यति तु माल्यंसमुद्भवोयं गन्धश्च भीरु मुखराणि च नूपुराणि ॥

Mṛichchhakatika, I.35.¹

The dress usually of the *abhisārikā* is according to the dark or bright half of the month when the moon is absent or present, darker shades for the former and brighter ones for the latter to avoid notice. A fine example of *abhisārikā* stealthily proceeding with furtive looks and beating heart to meet her lover at the appointed place is among the fine erotic sculptures from the Khajurāho temple.

The *vāsakasajjikā* type of *nāyikā* is the woman dressing in all her splendid apparel and decking herself with fine jewels, carefully attending to her toilet and making herself attractive, all the time impatient to meet her lover who is expected. The *vāsakasajjikā* may also be of another freakish type avoiding too many ornaments though still anxious to appear attractive before her lover and, in impatience at the delay of her expected lover or to avoid continuing her decorations and toilet when the lover is expected at any moment, addresses her companions and maids not to load her with this ornament or that as for the festivity of love milder dress is enough :

चिदूरे केयूरं कुरु करयुगे रत्नवलये-
रत्नं गुर्वी ग्रीवाभरणलतिकेयं किमनया ।
नवामेकामेकावलिमयि मयि त्वं विरचये-
न पथ्यं नेपथ्यं बहुतरमनङ्गोत्सवविधौ ॥

Sāhityadarpana, 3.85.²

A fine medallion from one of the cross-bars of the rail from Amarāvati (pl. XI, 34) gives a fine picture of Māyā, the queen of Śuddhodana as *vāsakasajjikā* awaiting her lord and decking herself in all her jewels. A number of *prasādhikās* are around her and one paints her feet with *alaktaka*, recalling to our mind the verse from Kālidāsa :

प्रसाधिकालम्बितमग्रपादमाक्षिप्य काचिद्वरागमेव ।
उत्सृष्टलीलागतिरागवाक्षादलक्तकाङ्कां पदवीं ततान ॥

Raghu., VII. 7.³

Another dresses her hair, a third offers her *nūpuras* for the feet, a fourth takes out necklets for her from the jewel-box, a fifth awaits her pleasure to deck her with flower garlands

¹ ' Viṭa—Oh Kaṇelīmāta ! Is there any mark by which you can find out ?

Śakāra—Bhāva Bhāva ! How is that ?

Viṭa—The jingling of ornaments and the smell of garlands suffused with fragrance.

Śakāra—I hear the smell of garlands, and with my nose filled with darkness I clearly see the jingling sound of jewels.

Viṭa—(aside) Oh Vasantasena ! Indeed you are not seen owing to the darkness at dusk like the lightning anklets will betray you.'

² ' Take away the armlets, no need of gem-set bracelets for the hands, why this heavy creeper-like ornament for the neck, please arrange only one fresh single strand of pearls ; too much of dress and decoration is not suited for the festival of love.'

³ ' One (of the ladies) having drawn her leg from the hands of an attendant and with the foot still marked the path up to the window with red paint as she hurried without her usual dallying gait.'

held by her on a tray and so forth. King Śuddhodana has just arrived and probably Māyā is hurriedly finishing her toilet and decoration, recalling the description in the verse from the *Sāhityadarpaṇa*. This beautiful sculpture from the world-famous monument is excellent pictorial commentary on the idea of *vāsakasajjikā* as approved by the Ālaṅkārikas. But probably the best representation of *vāsakasajjikā* is the painting of the princess at her toilet from Ajaṇṭā (pl. XI, 36). The easy way in which the *pādakaṭakas* or the anklets were put on or slipped off the feet as described in literature :

विटः—त्वां सूचयिष्यति तु माल्यसमुद्भवोयं गन्धश्च भीरु मुखराणि च नूपुराणि ॥
श्रुतं वसन्तसेने ।

वसन्तसेनाः—(स्वगतम्) सुदं गहिदं अ [श्रुतं गृहीतं च ।] (नाट्येन नूपुराण्युत्सार्य माल्यानि चापनीय किञ्चित्परिक्रम्य हस्तेन परामृश्य ।)

Mṛichchhakatika, I ¹

can best be understood by a look at sculpture like this showing the anklets separately presented on a tray for the feet shown without them. Another carving in the British Museum collection of Amarāvātī sculpture shows a *vāmanikā* adjusting properly the *nūpura* on the feet of her mistress. The scene is apparently of Māndhātā, the world emperor with his queens, standing beside his jewel of a horse. A carving from the Rājārāṇi temple at Bhuvaneswar also shows how easily the anklet is slipped on the foot (pl. XI, 35). Another fine sculpture also from Bhuvaneswar shows the *vāsakasajjikā* awaiting her lord with impatience (pl. XII, 37).

i. TOILET AND DECORATION

Sometimes the toilet of the lady is lovingly attended to at least in part by the affectionate lover. The *veṇībandha* or the braiding up of the hair is a charming act, in the arrangement of which, in the absence of a *prasadhikā* when she herself does it with arms somewhat raised, she causes a flutter in the heart of her lover who delights in the vision of her *bāhumūla* :

सीमन्तं निजमनुबध्नती कराभ्या-
मालक्ष्यस्तनतटवाहुमूलभागा ।
भर्त्रान्या मुहुरभिलष्यता निदध्ये
नैवाहो विरमति कौतुकं प्रियेभ्यः ॥

Sisūpala., IX. 69.²

A fine carving from Amarāvātī shows a lady exactly engaged like this in arranging her *sīmanta*, which, as a beauty-factor, has specially got her the name of *sīmantiṇī*. Still the opportunity for arranging the hair of the beloved one has often been welcomed by the lover as a very happy stroke of luck and we have an exceedingly picturesque representation

¹ 'Viṭa—But oh timid lady, the smell from the garlands and the resounding anklets will betray you. Do you hear, Vasantasenā ?

Vasantasenā—(within herself) I have heard and acted accordingly. (by gesticulation she removes the anklets and puts aside the garlands, moves aside and touches with her fingers.)

² 'Another (damsel) who was arranging the parting line of her hair with both her hands and whose breasts and armpits were consequently exposed to view was looked on by her husband with renewed longing ; indeed there is no end to the pleasure of lovers.'

of it in a sculpture from Amarāvati, where Nanda, the handsome cousin of Buddha, arranges the *sīmanta* of his charming wife Sundarī, also known as Janapadakalyāṇī, the loveliest lady of the land (pl. XII, 38). Rāma lovingly prepares a fine garland of tender shoots for the hair of Sītā :

अयं सुजातोऽनुगिरं तमालः प्रवालमादाय सुगन्धि यस्य ।

यवाङ्कुरापाण्डुकपोलशोभी मयावतंसः परिकल्पितस्ते ॥

Raghu., 13. 49.¹

In the *Meghadūta* the loving Yaksha fondly pictures to himself how he would, when back in Alakā, re-adjust the neglected braid of his beloved and decorate with flower-garlands :

आद्ये बद्धा विरहदिवसे या शिखा दाम हित्वा

शापस्यान्ते विगलितशुचा या मयोन्मोचनीया ।

स्पर्शक्लिष्टामयमितनखेनासकृत्सारयन्ती

गण्डाभोगात्कठिनविपमामेकवेणीं करेण ॥

Megha., II. 32.²

A beautiful representation of this scene comes from a stele from Mathurā of the Kushan period (pl. XII, 39) wherein the lover is depicted dressing the hair of his emaciated beloved one, an attendant standing close by holding flower garlands in a tray.

But it is not merely the dressed up hair of the lady that causes this joy in the mind of the lover. In the *Raghuvaṃśa* Kālidāsa describes how the king desisted from making a target of his arrow the lovely peacock dancing with its colourful tail spread all around in picturesque fashion suddenly reminded of his beloved with her braid decorated with variegated flowers loosened during her amorous sport.

अपि तुरगसमीपादुत्पतन्तं मयूरं

न स रुचिरकलापं बाणलक्ष्मीचकार ।

सपदि गतमनस्कश्चित्रमाल्यानुकीर्णं

रतिविगलितवन्धे केशपाशे प्रियायाः ॥

Raghu., IX. 67.³

In the sculpture from Nāgārjunakoṇḍa discussed above the lady is depicted holding the loosened braid to re-adjust it.

The decoration of this braid is itself a great piece of art. Different modes of hair-dress are known. Sculpture abounds in charming representations of feminine coiffure. The *keśapāśa* type is charming arrangement of the hair in noose fashion and the knot here may be tight or loose, and we have both varieties shown in sculpture. The term *pāśa* suggests not only beauty but also implies the noose-shape. *Dhammilla* is the most lovely of femi-

¹ 'This is that *tamāla* tree growing in the vicinity of the mountain having gathered the tender shoots of which I made up the decoration of your dressed hair beautifying your cheeks pale like the *yava* shoots.'

² '(You will probably see) her often pushing back from her cheeks with her hand having untrimmed nails the hard and coarse neglected braid (of hers) the very touch of which would cause pain and which bereft of flower garland was tied up on the day of my separation and awaits to be released (and dressed) by me (again) after the period of the curse when I am free from sorrow.'

³ 'He did not make the peacock with beautiful plumage a target of his arrow though it danced so near his horse, as his mind immediately recalled the beautiful braid of his beloved with the knot loosened in loving sport and with colourful flower garland entangled in it.'

nine coiffure. The *Gāthāsaptasati* has a verse describing this which is enough ornament to excite passion in the lover's heart :

दइअकरगहलुलिओ धम्मिल्लो सीहुगन्धिअं वअणम् ।
मअणम्मि एत्तिअं चिअ पसाहणं हरइ तरणीणम् ॥
[दयितकरगहलुलितो धम्मिल्लः सीधुगन्धितं वदनम् ।
मदने एतावदेव प्रसाधनं हरति तरणीनाम् ॥]

Gāthāsaptasati, VI. 44.¹

The *dhammilla* is elaborate dress of hair with flowers, pearls and jewels. This has always been a favourite mode of dressing and sculpture abounds in representations of this. The spectacular beauty of *dhammilla* is given also in a verse from the *Chaurapañchāsikā* :

अद्यापि तां गतिनिराकृतराजहंसीं
धम्मिल्लनिर्जितमयूरकलापभाराम् ।
चक्षुःश्रिया हसितमत्तचकोरनेत्रां
संचिन्तयामि कलकण्ठसमानकण्ठीम् ॥

Chaurapañchāsikā, 116.²

Sculpture of the Sātavāhana period as from Amarāvati has lovely representation of this mode. The beautiful Sītā of the Rāma group from Vāḍakkuppanayūr, the most marvellous in the bronze collection of the Madras Museum, has probably the loveliest example of flower and pearl-decked *dhammilla* (pl. XIII, 40). There are many other bronzes representing this elaborate mode of the hair as the *dhammilla* is usually the only one chosen for depicting feminine coiffure in the absence of *kirīṭamukuṭa* or *karaṇḍamukuṭa* or *jaṭāmukuṭa*, the *praveṇī* being generally avoided as it suggests a more tender age and boisterous and frolicsome temperament.

The *praveṇī* was, however, a great favourite in the early centuries of the Christian era and there is probably no early monument without sculpture depicting this mode of hair. The *praveṇī* is composed of plain or plaited hair allowed to flow down nearly up to the hips and jewelled strips arranged all along over it to beautify it make up this lovely mode of hair that Kālidāsa has so beautifully compared to the dark stream of the Yamunā with golden flamingoes fluttering on its surface in continuous streaks suggesting the plaits of the goddess of earth bedecked with golden strips :

तत्र सौधगतः पश्यन्त्यमुनां चक्रवाकिनीम् ।
हेमभक्तिमतीं भूमेः प्रवेणीमिव पिप्रिये ॥

Raghu., XV. 30.³

This contrasts sharply with the plain *ekaveṇī* of a *proshita-bhartṛikā*, a woman separated from her husband who is away and on that account neglects her toilet. Kālidāsa naïvely suggests

¹ 'The decked braid disarranged by the touch of the lover and the face smelling of wine—these are enough as decoration for women to excite love.'

² 'I even now think of her whose gait outshines that of the ruddy goose, whose dressed hair is lovelier than the fine plumage of the peacock, whose beautiful eyes mock at those of the *chakora* bird and whose voice is as sweet as that of the cuckoo.'

³ 'There from his palace he saw the (stream of) Yamunā with (rows of) golden flamingoes on it and admired it as if it were the plaited hair of the goddess of earth bedecked with golden strips.'

that the dense streaks of smoke of *kālāguru* wood, burnt in the palace in Ayodhyā fluttering and swaying in the wind, looked like the *repi* of the city goddess unbound by her on the return of the lord of the Raghus. Rāma, from the forest :

प्रासादकालागुरुभूगराजिरतस्याः पुरो वायुवगेन भिन्ना ।
वनान्निवृत्तेन रघूत्तमेन मुक्ता स्वयं वेणिरिवावभासे ।

Raghu., XIV, 12.¹

The fine decoration with gems, pearls and other jewels are represented with great detail in sculpture. This particularly is most charming nearer the *chikura* or *alaka* which is specially depicted with great care and love of detail by the sculptor when feminine grace is attempted with any seriousness. The charming passages in literature like :

या वः काले वहति सलिलाद्गारमुर्ध्वनिमाना
मुक्ताजालग्रथितमलकं कामिनीवाधवृन्दम् ॥

Megha., I, 66 ²

describe pearl-bedecked ringlets of hair or

उपचितावयवा शुचिभिः कर्णैरलिकदम्बकयोगमुपेयुषी ।
सदृशकान्तिरलक्ष्यत मञ्जरी तिलकजालकजालकमौक्तिकैः ॥

Raghu., IX, 44 ³

pearl-net decoration for ringlets comparable to the *tilaka* tree blossoms with bees settled on them, the ringlets of hair resembling the bees and the *tilaka* flowers the pearl decoration. It should be remembered that the appropriate use of the word *bhramaraka* for these ringlets of hair has a great suggestive sense. In Bharhut sculpture there is a lovely representation of this pearl-net decoration for the hair. Even in the early paintings of Ajanṭā there are many that have permanently recorded this charming mode of hair-dress of women in ancient India. It is this pearl and flower decoration that Kālidāsa so charmingly describes as dropped here and there in bits and fragments as the *abhisārikā* proceeded along with a tremor of joy stumbling on the way in the darkness of the night, her path suggested in the morning by the tender shoots and flowers from the *mandāra* tree, golden lotus decoration for the ear and pearl strings sundered :

गत्युत्कम्पादलकपतितैर्यत्र मन्दारपुष्पैः
पत्रच्छेदैः कनककमलैः कर्णविभ्रंशिभिश्च ।
मुक्ताजालैः स्तनपरिसरच्छिन्नसूत्रैश्च हारै-
र्नैशो मार्गः सवितुरुदये सूच्यते कामिनीनाम् ॥

Megha., II, 11.⁴

¹ 'The streaks of smoke of black *aguru* incense from the palaces torn by the breeze appeared like the braid of (the goddess of) that city loosened again by that foremost prince of the Raghus now returned from the forest.'

² 'Which (Alakā) with its high mansions in your (i.e., rainy) season bears clusters of clouds like a passionate damsel proudly erect wearing her coiffure decorated with network of pearls.'

³ 'The bunch of *tilaka* flowers fully developed by the blossoming of its fine component parts and with swarms of bees nestling on it appeared to possess the same beauty as the pearls adorning ringlets of hair.'

⁴ 'Where (i.e., in Alakā) the nocturne path of the lovelorn maidens is suggested at sunrise by the *mandāra* flowers dropped from the hair by their quivering movement, tender shoots and golden eardrops of lotus pattern slipped from their ears, and clusters of pearls and necklaces with the string snapped by rubbing against the breasts.'

Apart from the garlands and jewels is another very important decoration for the lady. This is either the *nīlotpala* or the tender shoot for the ear. Whether it is the *nīlotpala* that slipped from the ear of the *vadhū* :

आरुढः पतित इति स्वसम्भवोऽपि स्वच्छानां परिहरणीयतामुपैति ।

कर्णेभ्यश्च्युतमसितोत्पलं वधूनां वीचीभिस्तटमनु यन्निरासुरापः ।

Sisupāla., VIII, 54,¹

or the *śirīsha* flower that stuck to it though loosened from the ear because of the fresh nail-print on the sweating cheek of the damsel :

स्वेदानुविद्धार्द्रनखक्षताङ्गे भूयिष्ठसंदण्डशिखं कपोले ।

च्युतं न कर्णादपि कामिनीनां शिरीषपुष्पं सहसा पपात ॥

Raghu., XVI, 48,²

the representation of the flower is distinctly found in sculpture. An early carving from Amarāvati shows an *utpala* fixed in the earlobe of a Yaksha. There are other carvings representing the *nīlotpala* as feminine decoration. The tender shoot placed on the ear of the beloved one which is enough to madden the heart of the aesthetic lover :

किसलयप्रसवोऽपि विलासिनां मदयिता दयिताश्रवणापितः ।

Raghu., IX, 28³

is most gracefully depicted in a painting from Ajanṭā, where a *chāmaradhārīṇī* wears a shoot on her ear as she languidly holds the handle of a *chāmara* or fly-whisk resting



Fig. 4. Tender shoots on the ear of a lady from Ajanṭā—Gupta-Vākātaka, 5th century A.D., Hyderabad, Deccan

idly on her shoulder (fig. 4). It may be questioned how flowers and shoots are such ornaments to beautify charming women. But they are ; for does not Kālidāsa reiterate this

¹ 'Fallen low from great heights, even though one's own, it is discarded by the immaculate ; even so the blue lotus slipped from the ears of damsels was thrown on the bank by the waves of the stream.'

² 'The *śirīsha* flower though it slipped from the ear of the loving damsels would not easily fall as its petal-end got stuck in the fresh nailmark covered with sweat on the cheek.'

³ 'Even the tender shoot placed on the ear of the beloved one maddens the aesthetic lover.'

by questioning what it is that is not *maṇḍana* or decoration for the beautiful one ?

इयमधिकमनोज्ञा वल्ललेनापि तन्वी
किमिव हि मधुराणां मण्डनं नाकृत्तीनाम् ॥

Śākuntala, 1.¹

Nay, he does not stop with it but says that it is the hair of lovely damsel thrown in long tresses wet from the bath and after the perfuming with sandal and *aguru* smoke (*dhūpa*) decked with jasmine flowers blossomed in the evening that gave strength to the god of Love whose vigour diminished with the close of spring.

स्नानार्द्रमुतेष्वनुधूपवासं विन्यस्तसायन्तनमल्लिकेणु ।
कामो वसन्तात्ययमन्दवीर्यः केनेषु लेभे वनमङ्गनानाम् ॥

Raghu., XVI, 50.²

The sculpture showing the finely decked *dhammillas* are excellent illustrations to prove this proposition, and there is probably no better representation than the carving from Amarāvati of a princess with her *keśapāśa* decked with flowers in *vidhūṭikā* mode shaped



Fig. 5. Braid of queen decked with flowers
from Amarāvati—Sātavāhana, 2nd century
A.D., Madras Government Museum, Madras

like a fan, the arrangement of the flowers in rows vying only in beauty with the *chikuras* or *bhramarakas*, ringlets of hair near the forehead where the *lalāṭikā* just near the *sīmanta* adds charm to the already beautiful face (fig. 5).

ii. MARKS OF LOVE

The marks of love are another theme equally beautiful for both the poet and the sculptor. Describing the beauty of the *vanasthalīs* the poet pictures sylvan beauty wedded

¹ 'This slender damsel looks exceedingly beautiful even in bark dress ; what is it that will not beautify lovely form ?'

² 'Cupid, his vigour diminished at the close of spring, received fresh strength in the hair of woman dried after bath, perfumed with fragrant smoke and decked with jasmine flowers that blossom in the evening.'

to spring and the *palāśa* flowers red in colour and crooked like the crescent moon in unblossomed state are like the nail-marks of the lover :

बालेन्दुवक्राण्यविकाशभावाद्वभुः पलाशान्यतिलोहितानि ।

सद्यो वसन्तेन समागतानां नखक्षतानीव वनस्थलीनाम् ॥

Kumāra., III, 29.¹

Sometimes the marks are on the tender plantain-shaped thighs of the beloved :

चक्रुरेव ललनोरुषु राजीः स्पर्शलोभवशलोलकराणाम् ।

कामिनामनिभृतान्यपि रम्भास्तम्भकोमलतलेषु नखानि ॥

Sisupāla., X, 66,²

or when the golden girdle slipped off the hips a lovely new girdle enchanting in its beauty is revealed in the lovely row of nail-marks :

योषितः पतितकाञ्चनकाञ्चौ मोहनातिरभसेन नितम्बे ।

मेखलेव परितः स्म विचित्रा राजते नवनखक्षतलक्ष्मीः ॥

Sisupāla., X. 85.³

The root of the neck and the *bāhumūla* and other beauty-spots get an imprint of these marks, and there is a picturesque description of the lover approaching his beloved even as she reveals to him her *bāhumūla* marked by fresh imprints of nail-marks.

अन्तिकगतमपि मामियमलोकयन्तीव हन्त दृष्ट्वापि ।

सरसनखक्षतलक्षितमाविष्कुरुते भुजामूलम् ॥

Sāhityadarpaṇa., 3. 126,⁴

and

प्रियमभि कुसुमोद्यतस्य बाहोर्नवनखमण्डनचारुमूलमन्या ।

मुहुर्नितरकराहितेन पीनस्तनतटरोधि तिरोदधेऽशुकेन ॥

Sisupāla., VII. 32.⁵

It is the nail-marks on the cheeks that serve to keep on the *śirīsha* or the *nīlotpala* from falling from the ear. A fine mediaeval sculpture probably from Khajurāho but generally regarded as from Bhuvaneswar and preserved in the Indian Museum has an excellent suggestive commentary to offer on the subject of *nakhakshata* (pl. XIII, 41). Māgha says that the soft shrieks, loving notes, pitiful cries, endearing exclamations, cries of feigned

¹ 'The *palāśa* flowers curved like the crescent moon as they had not yet blossomed and tinged dark red looked like nail-marks on the expanse of the forest that just experienced the advent of spring.'

² 'The nails of lovers whose hands were trembling with a desire to touch did indeed make rows of marks on thighs of damsels with surface soft as the plantain trunk.'

³ 'When the golden girdle slipped, the enchanting hip of the damsel revealed all around a picturesque beauty of fresh nail-marks resembling as it were a girdle.'

⁴ 'Oh ! This damsel, though she saw that I had approached her, still as if she had not seen, exposes her armpit stamped with fresh nail-marks.'

⁵ 'Pulling with her other hand her cloth which hid from view her full breasts another lady often screened off the armpit, beautified with fresh nail-marks (exposed), of the hand engaged in gathering flowers, close to her lover.'

halt and jingling sound of jewels of lovely damsel served as the text of the *Kāmasūtra* :

सीत्कृतानि मणितं करुणोक्तिः स्निग्धमुक्तमलमर्थवचांसि ।

हासभूषणरवाश्च रमण्या कामसूत्रपदतामुपजग्मुः ॥

Sisupāla., X. 75.¹

The sculpture referred to is a pictorial text of the *Kāmasūtra* just as the other one is a text composed of sounds even as Māgha puts it :

किसलयशकलेष्ववाचनीयाः पुलकिनि केवलमङ्गके निधेयाः ।

नखपदलिपयोऽपि दीपितार्थाः प्रणिदधिरे दयितैरनङ्गलेखाः ॥

Sisupāla., VII. 39.²

Here the woman is shown writing a letter and the nail-marks are distinct on her *bāhumūla*. It is as much as to say or suggest that the letter is one dictated by love and intended for inviting or promising more such fresh marks for they are also a valuable decoration :

उपहितं शिशिरापगमश्रिया मुकुलजालमशोभत किंशुके ।

प्रणयिनीव नखक्षतमण्डनं प्रमदया मदयापितलज्जया ॥

Raghu., IX. 31.³

The first quarter of the verse :

दर्पणेषु परिभोगदर्शिनीर्नर्मपूर्वमनुपृष्ठसंस्थिताः ।

छायया स्मितमनोज्ञया वधूर्ह्निनिमीलितमुखीश्चकार सः ॥

Raghu., XIX. 28.⁴

has a fine sculptural representation on one of the pillars from the Bhūtesar rail now preserved in the Mathurā Museum. She holds a mirror and softly rubs with her finger the cheek marked with a nail-mark or the mark of the teeth *dantakshata*. It may also be representation of beautifying the face and making it brighter by the application of flower pollen which served the purpose in ancient India of the modern talcum powder used in toilet :

नीता लोध्रप्रसवरजसा पाण्डुतामानने श्रीः

Megha., II. 2.⁵

But the entire verse has a vivid sculptural commentary in a panel from Nāgārjunakoṇḍa (pl. XIV, 42), where the lover is shown behind his beloved whom he has approached softly and watches her as she examines her marks of enjoyment in the mirror and gets abashed when she notices his reflection coming in.

¹ 'Soft notes, passionate murmurs, piteous talk, loving phrases, words suggestive of 'enough' smiles, and the jingling of ornaments, attained, as it were, the position of written text of the science of love.'

² 'Not decipherable on tender shoots but to be stamped only on horripulated body were the love letters pregnant with meaning issued by lovers in the scripts of nail-marks.'

³ 'The cluster of buds on the *kinśuka* tree brought on by charming spring appeared like nail-mark decoration on the lover imposed by the passionate beloved lady whose love overcame shyness.'

⁴ 'By his reflections charming as he smiled he made the ladies of the harem hang their heads in shame as he slyly and significantly stood behind them even as they examined their love marks (nail-marks, etc.), in their mirrors.'

⁵ 'The face is rendered pale by the pollen of the *lodhra* flower.'

iii. PUSHPĀVACHAYA

Pushpāvachaya has some lovely description devoted to it in literature. The usual representation of gathering flowers from the nearest branches (fig. 6) is as in the case of the



Fig. 6, *Pushpāvachaya*, lady gathering flowers—Kushan, 2nd century A.D., Mathurā, Uttar Pradesh.

young *mandāra* tree, described in the *Meghadūta* whose bough is in easy reach and is bent for gathering the blossoms :

हस्तप्राप्यस्तवकनमितो वालमन्दारवृक्षः

Megha., II. 15.¹

But the more colourful pictures as presented by Māgha of *pushpāvachaya* where the damsel desirous of a bunch of flowers rather high up pulls herself up holding on to the shoulder of her lover beside her, almost covering him by her full breasts :

सललितमवलम्ब्य पाणिनांसे सहचरमुच्छ्रितमुच्छ्वाञ्छयान्या ।

सकलकलभकुम्भविभ्रमाभ्यामुरसि रसादवतस्तरे स्तनाभ्याम् ॥

Sisupāla., VII. 47,²

or fatigued by constant gathering of flowers and with her arm around the neck of her lover she stands completely hiding his chest by her breasts :

अविरतकुसुमावचायखेदान्निहितभुजालतयैकयोपकण्ठम् ।

विपुलतरनिरन्तरावलग्नस्तनपिहितप्रियवक्षसा ललम्बे ॥

Sisupāla., VII. 71,³

has excellent sculptural parallel at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, where this aspect is clearly represented in two or three lovely panels. Specially one sculpture represents the lady in lovely *bhaṅgas* with one of her arms on waist and another raised aloft and on that pretext reveal-

¹ 'The tender *mandāra* tree bent with the blossom easy of reach.'

² 'Another lady desiring to get at a bunch of flowers high up held on sportively to the shoulder of her lover, and with her breasts resembling the temples of full grown elephants covered his chest.'

³ 'Fatigued by incessant gathering of flowers and resting her creeper-like arms on the neck of her lover a damsel held on covering the chest of her beloved one with her large breasts that closely came together.'

ing her passion to her lover standing beside her and closely answering Māgha's description in the verse :

अभिमतमभितः कृताङ्गभङ्गा कुचयुगमुन्नतिवित्तमुन्नमय्य ।
तनुरभिलषितं कलमच्छलेन व्यवृणतु वेल्लितबाहुवल्लरीका ॥

Sisupāla., VII. 72.¹

iv. DOHADA

The various aspects of *dohada* are another theme most pleasantly treated in sculpture as in literature. As Kālidāsa puts it, it is only two that can have the special privilege of receiving a kick from the foot of the beautiful damsel—the *aśoka* tree not yet flowered and the lover just fresh from a scrape :

नवकिसलयरागेणाग्रपादेन वाला
स्फुरितनखरुचा द्वौ हन्तुमर्हत्यनेन ।
अक्रुमुमितमशोकं दोहदापेक्षया वा
प्रणिहितशिरसं वा कान्तमाद्रापराधम् ॥

Mālavikā., III. 12.²

In early Kushan sculpture from Mathurā and in some of the beautiful Orissan sculptures of the mediaeval period there are excellent examples of *aśokadohada*. The verse :

उच्चित्य प्रथममवस्थितं मृगाक्षी
पुष्पौघं श्रितवित्पं गृहीतुकामा ।
आरोढुं चरणमदादशोकयष्टे-
रामूलं पुनरपि तेन पुष्पितासौ ॥³

given in the *Subhāshitāvali* of Vallabhadeva (1865) is probably very closely answered in a sculpture of very early date from Bodh-Gayā where a damsel is shown climbing an *aśoka* tree and her feet are held on by her lover who, as remarked by Kālidāsa, is as much entitled to it as this tree.

There are other sculptures beginning from the lovely Sudarśanā Yakshī from the Bharhut rail (pl. XIV, 43) and including many charming ones of the Orissan school of the mediaeval period, which show the *dohada* of the *kuravaka* tree achieved by the embrace of it by women. A touching verse from Ratnākara in the *Subhāshitāvali* describes this along with other modes of *dohada*, the ladies of the enemy-king's harem tenderly taking leave of the *kuravaka*, *bakula* and *aśoka* trees in their gardens and reminding them respectively

¹ 'A damsel revealed her passionate intention in the vicinity of her lover by flexing her body and raising up her breasts significantly high and holding up her entwined creeper-like arms on the pretext of relieving herself from her fatigue.'

² 'There are two objects that the young damsel can kick with the tip of this foot of hers of the hue of tender shoots and with shining nails ; one is the *aśoka* tree lacking flowers in expectation of blossoms and the other the bent head of the beloved one who is a fresh culprit (by stealthily courting another lady).'

³ 'Having gathered first the collection of flowers within her reach, the fawn-eyed damsel, desirous of holding to the branch, laid her foot on the bare bough of the *aśoka* tree and again from the root it put forth flowers.'

of their embrace, watering with mouthfuls of wine and the hit with the foot which should ever serve to keep them in their memory :

कुरवक कुचघातक्रीडारसेन वियुज्यसे
बकुलविटपिन्स्मर्तव्यं ते मुखासवसेचनम् ।
चरणघटनाशून्यो यास्यस्यशोक सशोकता-
मिति निजपुरत्यागे यस्य द्विषां जगदुः स्त्रियः ॥

Subhāshitāvalī, 2564.¹

In the *Uttaramegha*, Kālidāsa refers to the *dohada* of both the *aśoka* and the *kuravaka* tree :

रक्ताशोकश्चलकिसलयः केसरश्चात्र कान्तः
प्रत्यासन्नौ कुरवकवृतेमधिवीमण्डपस्य ।
एकः सख्यास्तव सह मया वामपादाभिलाषी
काङ्क्षत्यन्यो वदनमदिरां दोहदच्छन्नान्यः ॥

Megha., II. 17.²

The *dohada* of the *bakula* tree is suggested in sculpture by showing the lady under the tree with a cup of wine in her hand, as it is by watering it with the wine from her mouth that it flowers. The *kesara* tree needs only the eyes of the damsel to fall on it for flowering, and this is not much of a theme for any elaborate presentation in sculpture, though of course, the poet has always presented the looks of lovely damsels as the most powerful, for does not the poet say that it is the *vāmalochanā*, the beautiful-eyed one, who, by her eyes, brings back to life Madana who was burnt to death only by an eye—the third eye of Śiva ;

दृशा दग्धं मनसिजं जीवयन्ति दृशैव याः ।
विरूपाक्षस्य जयिनीस्ताः स्तुवे वामलोचनाः ॥

Viddhāsālabhaṅgikā, I,³

and Damodaragupta in his *Kuṭṭanāmata* begins with a very charming verse describing the beautiful eye of lovely damsel as the abode of Manmatha :

स जयति सङ्कल्पभवो रतिमुखशतपत्रचुम्बनभ्रमरः ।
यस्यानुरक्तललनानयनान्तविलोकनं वसतिः ॥

Kuṭṭanāmata, I,⁴

and among the paintings from Ajanta there are exquisite examples of this charm of the eye. Mūka, the great sweet poet of about the 7th century, has a whole century of verses

¹ “Oh *kuravaka* tree ! You are deprived of the pleasure of the sport in which the breasts are rubbed against you ; Oh *bakula* tree ! please do remember the sprinkling of mouthfuls of wine ; Oh *aśoka* tree ! you will experience sorrow by the absence of kicks by the feet” so spoke the womenfolk of his enemies as they abandoned their city.

² ‘In the vicinity of the *mādhavī* creeper bower fenced by *kuravaka* trees are the *raktāśoka* tree with its waving tender shoots and the lovely *bakula* tree ; the one, along with me, longs for the foot of this lady friend of yours and the other mouthfuls of wine on the pretext of blossoming again.’

³ ‘I praise those lovely-eyed damsels who by their very eyes revived Cupid (lit. mind-born) burnt down by the eye (of Śiva) and thereby who have triumphed over Virūpāksha (i.e., the odd-eyed one).’

⁴ ‘Victorious is the mind-born Cupid, the bee kissing the lotus face of Rati, the abode of whom is the side-long glances of passionate damsels.’

vihāra in Anurādhapura from Ceylon where the *mithuna*, represented seated in cave-like cell (pl. XV, 46), reminds us of the verse from the *Meghadūta* :

नीचैराख्यं गिरिमधिवसेस्तत्र विश्रामहेतोः
त्वत्सम्पर्कात्पुलकितमिव प्रौढपुष्पैः कदम्बैः ।
यः पण्यस्त्रीरतिपरिमलोद्गारिभिर्नागराणां-
मुद्दामानि प्रथयति शिलावेशमभिर्यैर्विनानि ॥

Megha., I. 25.¹

Somewhat similar in conception but reminding us also of the description of *Kālidāsa* in his *Meghadūta* and *Raghuvaṃśa* :

अम्भोविन्दुग्रहणचतुरांश्चातकान्वीक्षमाणः
श्रेणीभूताः परिगणनया निर्दिशन्तो बलाकाः ।
त्वामासाद्य स्तनितसमये मानयिष्यन्ति सिद्धाः
सोत्कम्पानि प्रियसहचरीसंभ्रमालिङ्गितानि ॥

Megha., I. 22.²

पूर्वानुभूतं स्मरता च यत्र कम्पोत्तरं भीरु तवोपगूढम् ।
गुहाविसारीण्यतिवाहितानि मया कथंचिद्धनर्गजितानि ॥

Raghu., XIII. 29⁴

of the terrifying peals of thunder of the cloud welcomed by the lovers as the immediate cause of close embrace by damsels terribly frightened therefrom, the frightening cause of which however was not the thunderclap but something very similar, the rumbling of the Mount Kailāsa, occasioning the embrace of Śiva by Pārvatī when the huge mountain was rattled by Rāvaṇa, has fine representation in one of the panels from the Kailāsa temple at Ellora (pl. XV, 47).

Kandukakrīḍā or playing with the ball is another favourite theme in sculpture as in literature. In a panel from Aihole representing a flying Gandharva couple the woman is shown with the *kanduka* in her right hand, her left arm resting lovingly on the shoulder of her lover who carries in his hand the more manly weapon, the *chakra* or disc. An actual carving of a lady playing *kanduka* is in a mediaeval piece from Khajuraho (pl. XVI, 48). It is as if it were a commentary on the verse which explains the poet's appreciation of the bump of the ball as a damsel plays with it :

वनिताकरतामरसाभिहतः पतितः पतितः पुनरुत्पतसि ।
विदितं ननु कन्दुक ते हृदयं वनिताधरसङ्गमलुब्धमिव ॥⁴

¹ 'You may there stay a while to rest on the mountain Nichais which will appear horripulated as it were by your contact through its fully blossomed *kadamba* flowers ; and that hill will by its cave dwellings fragrant with the perfume of passionate courtesans, proclaim the exuberance of youth of the townsfolk.'

² 'Gazing at the *chātaka* birds clever in receiving rain drops and pointing to rows of cranes while counting them, the Siddhas will honour you on getting the embrace of their frightened beloved damsels accompanied by bodily tremor at the sound of peals of thunder.'

³ 'Oh timid one ! I somehow experienced the peals of thunder as they resounded in the caves remembering your embraces that followed your trembling which I had experienced formerly.'

⁴ 'Beaten by the lotus-soft hand of the lady and fallen down you incessantly bump up. Oh ball ! I know your mind, it is surely because of your desire for contacting the lips of the damsel.'

In the *Meghadūta* Kālidāsa describes the delightful pastime of his beloved one with the *krīḍāmayūra* or sportive peacock, trained to dance to the repeated claps of the hand and the jingling of the bangles as the Yakshī kept time for the purpose :

तन्मध्ये च स्फटिकफलका काञ्चनी वासयष्टि-
मूले बद्धा मणिभिरनतिप्रौढवंशप्रकाशैः ।
तालैः शिञ्जावलयसुभगैर्नतितः कान्तया मे
यामध्यास्ते दिवसविगमे नीलकण्ठः सुहृदः ॥

Megha., II. 18,¹

and fine pictorial representation of this is found in a mediaeval sculpture from Orissa (pl. XVI, 49). It is interesting to find this very happy theme even on the reverse of coins, as, in some of the issues of Kumāragupta, the reverse of the tiger-slayer type shows a damsel, intended for Rājyaśrī, bending towards a peacock with which she is playing with her right hand and holding a *līlā-kamala*, a sportive lotus, in her left (pl. XXIV, 81).

The *vinodasthānā* of *virahinīs* is another great theme depicted with a tenderness in sculpture as worthy commentary on the description which is most interesting in literature. The *Meghadūta* has a fine picture as presented by the Yaksha of his beloved one trying to picture to herself her lord in his separated condition and consoling herself by different means within her power. Probably the lover looked emaciated, and this she fancies in her own mind and paints his form in that state :

मत्सादृश्यं विरहतनु वा भावगम्यं लिखन्ती

Megha., II. 24.²

In despair some other moment she would resort to the worship of the deity for speedy reunion :

आलोके ते निपतति पुरा सा वलिव्याकुला वा

Megha., II. 24.³

Some other time she would address the pet parrot in the cage and ask whether it remembered her lord of whom it was always such a favourite :

पृच्छन्ती वा मधुरवचनां शारिकां पञ्जरस्थां
कच्चिद्भर्तुः स्मरसि रसिके त्वं हि तस्य प्रियेति ॥

Megha., II. 24.⁴

Fine sculptural representation of this theme may be seen in Kushan work from Mathurā, of which the Bhūtesar Yakshī addressing the parrot is probably the most charming (pl. XVI, 50). That the *sārikā* is *pañjarasthā* is suggested by the cage shown in one of the hands of the Yakshī, the parrot itself placed on her shoulder with its beak near her face as if in conversation with her. The delineation of the bird out of the cage rather than in it is more suited for giving it the prominence that it demands at least in sculpture

¹ 'Between them is a golden roost of the bright yellow hue of tender bamboo cane provided with crystal tablet and fixed at its base with gems, on which rests in the evening your friend, the peacock, which is trained to dance by my beloved one to the repeated claps of her hand sweetened by the jingling of her bangles.'

² 'Or painting my portrait emaciated by separation as she conceives in her mind.'

³ 'Or probably she will be seen by you engaged in worship.'

⁴ 'Or she may be enquiring of the parrot in the cage that talks so sweetly, "Oh sweet one ! do you remember our lord ? You are his darling ".'

to illustrate this passage. The face of the Yakshī is shown beaming and rightly so, for does not Kālidāsa remind us that it is the *ramaṇa-vārtā* that pleases the *ramaṇī* most :

श्रोष्यत्यस्मात्परमवहिता सौम्य सीमन्तिनीनां
कान्तोदन्तः सुहृदुपगतः सङ्गमात्किञ्चिद्गुणः ॥

Megha., II. 39.¹

Sometimes the Yakshī would be enjoying the sweet strains of the *vīṇā*, the song composed by her on her own lord serving as the theme ; but her tears dropping fast require her often to attend to the strings and lose the trend of her song :

उत्सङ्गे वा मलिनवसने सौम्य निक्षिप्य वीणां
मद्गोत्राङ्गं विरचितपदं गेयमुद्गातुकामा ।
तन्त्रीमाद्रीं नयनसलिलैः सारयित्वा कथंचित्
भूयो भूयः स्वयमपि कृतां मूर्च्छनां विस्मरन्ती ॥

Megha., II. 25.²

The *vīṇā* is placed on her lap, and this attitude is beautifully portrayed in some of the early sculptures specially from Bharhut and Amarāvati. Sometimes by counting the flowers laid on the doorway the lady consoles herself by taking herself mentally nearer every day to the day of reunion with her lord ; and these are the *vinodas* for women in separation.

शेषान्मासान्विरहदिवसस्थापितस्यावधेर्वा
विन्यस्यन्ती भुवि गणनया देहलीदत्तपुष्पैः ।
मत्सङ्गं वा हृदयनिहितारम्भमास्वादयन्ती
प्रायेणैते रमणविरहेष्वङ्गनानां विनोदः ॥

Megha., II. 26.³

It is hope that sustains the despairing heart specially of women during separation :

आशाबन्धः कुसुमसदृशं प्रायशोह्यङ्गनानां
सद्यः पाति प्रणयि हृदयं विप्रयोगे रुणद्धि ॥

Megha., I, 10.⁴

and it is also a sustaining factor for the love-lorn Yaksha and he pictures to himself the different scenes of his happiness in the company of his beloved before the curse.

VI. ŚRĪṆGĀRA CONCEPT EVEN IN INANIMATE OBJECTS

This leads on to a fancy of a state of *nāyikā* and *nāyaka* even in inanimate objects like the lightning and the cloud, the goddess of spring and *madhumāsa*, *sandhyā* and *divasa*, *dīśā* like *purvā* or *vāruṇī* and the sun or moon, *padmīnī* and *Sūrya*, *kumudīnī* and

¹ ' She will listen most attentively, Oh ! my friend ! news of the beloved one brought by a friend is just short of reunion.'

² ' Or, Oh my friend ! resting the lute on her lap covered by soiled cloth and desirous of singing a song composed with words conveying my name, she would somehow rub their strings wet with her tears often forgetting the musical tune which is her own.'

³ ' May be she is placing on the ground the flowers laid on the doorsill for counting the months yet remaining to complete the term of separation or enjoying the pleasure of my reunion mentally ; generally these constitute the amusement of ladies during separation from their lovers.'

⁴ ' The stalk of hope generally upholds the loving flower-like heart of damsels suddenly dropping in separation.'

Chandra, rivers and the ocean and so forth, the conception leading on to some of the most tender expressions and descriptions of the most absorbing interest in Sanskrit literature. And these have their exquisite sculptural parallels.

If the *saṅgama* or the confluence of rivers like Gaṅgā and Yamunā is graphically described by Kālidāsa in the verses :

क्वचित्प्रभालेपिभिरिन्द्रनीलैर्मुक्तामयी यष्टिरिवानुविद्धा ।
 अन्यत्र माला सितपङ्कजानामिन्दीवरैस्तत्त्वचितान्तरेव ॥
 क्वचित्खगानां प्रियमानसानां कादम्बसंसर्गवतीव पङ्कवितः ।
 अन्यत्र कालागुरुदत्तपत्रा भक्तिर्भुवश्चन्दनकल्पितेव ॥
 क्वचित्प्रभा चान्द्रमसी तमोभिः छायाविच्छिन्नैः शवलीकृतेव ।
 अन्यत्र शुभ्रा शरदभ्रलेखा रन्ध्रेष्विवालक्ष्यनभःप्रदेशा ॥
 क्वचित्च कृष्णोरगभूषणेव भस्माङ्गरागा तनुरीश्वरस्य ।
 पश्यानवद्याङ्गि विभाति गङ्गा भिन्नप्रवाहा यमुनातरङ्गैः ॥

*Raghu., XIII. 54-57.*¹

the last verse describing the streams as the queens of the Lord of the Ocean towards whom they flow, as expressed in the line :

समुद्रपत्न्योर्जलसन्निपाते पूतात्मनामत्र किलाभिपेकात् ।
 तत्वावबोधेन विनापि भूयस्तनुत्यजां नास्ति शरीरबन्धः ॥

Raghu., XIII.

is more than significantly expressed in the panel from the Udayagiri cave where Gaṅgā and Yamunā on their respective vehicles, crocodile and water-pots in their hands move on the stream towards Samudrarāja expanse of water with a *ratnakalaśa* in his hand to signify his *ratna* of all gems, also reminding us of the free and intimate *nāyikā* put by Kālidāsa in his line :

मुखापणेषु प्रकृतिप्रगल्भाः स्वयं तरङ्गाधरदानदः ।
 अनन्यसामान्यकलत्रवृत्तिः पिवत्यसौ पाययते च ॥

The purifying influence and holy atmosphere of this confluence of heavenly bliss for those having a dip in the water.

¹ 'Oh faultless beauty, Look! Yonder flows Gaṅgā with her lotuses with blue lilies woven into it at intervals, sometimes (white swans) touching the dark swans, elsewhere like dots on sandal background for the earth, somewhere like there, elsewhere like a line of spotless swans, elsewhere like the body of Śiva smeared with ashes and so on.'

² 'At the confluence of the two rivers, there is no any further bondage in mortal collection, though they are there.'

³ 'This ocean whose mode of drinking is that the lips of waves himself drinks the water and gives it to them to drink.'

sculptor by a small scene of music and dance and adoration by heavenly beings of these holy rivers.

Similarly, *padminī* or *padmaśrī*, to be distinguished from Lakshmī or Gaja-Lakshmī bathed by elephants, is represented in very effective manner as a *prauḍha-nāyikā* in a very early sculpture, in the Lucknow Museum, of a lady amidst lotuses standing pressing her right breast to suggest the fullness of her youth.

A very significant early pillar from Lālā Bhagat discovered and described by Pandit M. S. Vats shows the same aspect of *padminī* and her bloom in the morning when awakened by the sun is clearly suggested by a graphic portrayal of the sun in his chariot accompanied by two attendants, one holding a parasol and another a fly-whisk (pl. XVII, 52). As usual in early sculpture four horses draw his chariot, beneath which a demoniac head is represented to signify darkness dispelled. The chariot is preceded by three ladies representing Ushā, Pratyushā and Chhāyā. A number of dwarfish figures preceding the queens of Sūrya are the Vālakhilyas who lead the chariot of Sūrya and who by their peaceful mien, and the sun by his effulgence, made Kālidāsa choose this situation as appropriate for comparison with a similar scene of Śatrughna in chariot being led on towards Mathurā by the Rishis, who suffered from the depredations of the demon Lavaṇa, also of the nature of *tamisrā* or gloom,—a very appropriate comparison as the sun dispels darkness :

आदिष्टवर्मा मुनिभिः स गच्छंस्तपतां वरः ।

विरराज रथप्रष्टैर्वालिखित्यैरिवांशुमान् ॥

Raghu., XV. 10.¹

Beneath this is the dance of the peacock with its tail opened wide in gay colours and suggesting the line *hasishyati chakravālam*.² The elephant beneath it pulling up lotuses suggests the line : *hā hanta hanta nalinīm gaja ujjahāra*.³ But when taken as a whole all the figures exactly connote and act as effective commentary on the verse :

रात्रिर्गमिष्यति भविष्यति सुप्रभातं

भास्वानुदेष्यति हसिष्यति पङ्कजश्रीः ।

इत्थं विचिन्तयति कोशगते द्विरेफे

हा हन्त हन्त नलिनीं गज उज्जहार ॥

Kuvalayānanda, p. 150⁴

the line *bhāsvānudeśhyati hasishyati paṅkajaśrīḥ*⁵ is more than clearly set forth in this representation of the heralding of day-break by swans flying in the air, the rising sun in his chariot, the joy of the lady of the lotus suggested by the dance of the peacock signifying joy and the lady of the lotus herself down below, and finally the elephant pulling up the lotus-stalks completing the sense of the verse. Even the cock shown on a pillar beside the lady of the lotus-pond is a herald of dawn, and this is one of the finest representations personifying abstract thought like dawn or twilight or the charm of the lotus pond.

¹ 'Moving on, his path being shown by the sages who walked ahead of his chariot, that most effulgent prince looked like the Sun preceded by the Vālakhilya sages.'

² 'The horizon will brighten up.'

³ 'Alas ! alas ! the elephant pulled up the lotus !'

⁴ 'The night will end ; there will be fine daybreak ; the Sun will rise ; the beauty of the lotus will bloom forth . so thinks the bee as it lies in the lotus, but, but alas ! alas ! the elephant pulled up the lotus !'

⁵ 'The Sun will rise, the beauty of the lotus will bloom forth.'

Among the flying figures from Ajañtā there is one group showing the male figures dark and the female ones bright. There is probably in these a significant aim at representing what Kālidāsa has so picturesquely described as *vidyutkalatra* :

तां कस्याञ्चिद्भवनवलभौ सुप्तपारावतायां
नीत्वा रात्रिं चिरविलसनात्खन्यद्विद्युत्कलत्रः ।

Megha., I. 38.¹

or what Jayadeva tenderly put in his *Gītagovinda*, viz. Rādhā bright as lightning against the dark cloud-like chest of Hari beautified by necklet of pearls like a row of *sārasas* (cranes) :

उरसि मुरारेरुपहितहारे घन इव तरलबलाके
तटिदिव पीते रतिविपरीते राजसि सुकृतविपाके ॥

Gītagovinda, V. II. 5.²

vii LOVE OF THE LOWER ORDER

Love in the lower order of things like animals or birds *tiryaggata rati* is another fine theme as sweetly dealt with in sculpture as in literature. This also serves as an *uddīpanavi-bhāra* even as the moon, the gentle southern breeze, trees full of flowers and the sweet song of the cuckoo to fan the flame of love. In the description of *vasanta* or the spring season near the Pampā lake the poet in his *Sundararāmāyaṇa* has actually said :

तिर्यञ्चौ रतिसुखमत्र निर्विशन्तौ पम्पायास्तटमनु कानने मनोज्ञे ।
संपश्यन्प्रियतमया तया वियुक्तो रामोऽपि स्मररुचिरः स्मराभियुक्तः ॥

Sundara., IX. 10.³

Kālidāsa has probably the most remarkable verses describing the love of birds and animals. He does not stop with *priyāmukham kimpurushaś chuchumb*⁴ but takes it to the deer and describes how the stag fondles the doe, *mṛigīm akaṇḍūyata kṛishṇasārah*.⁵ This is elaborated with greater wealth of detail in the *Abhijñānaśākuntala* where the Vidūshaka mentions what more remains to be done by way of addition to the half-worked painting of Śakuntalā in sylvan surroundings as painted by Dushyanta :

कार्या सैकतलीनहंसमिथुना स्रोतोवहा मालिनी
पादास्तामभितो निपण्णहरिणा गौरीगुरोः पावनाः ।
शाखालम्बितवल्कलस्य च तरोर्निर्मितुमिच्छाम्यधः
शृङ्गे कृष्णमृगस्य वामनयनं कण्डूयमानां मृगीम् ॥

Śakuntala, VI. 17.⁶

¹ 'With your lightning-consort, fatigued by long glimmering, please spend the night on the balcony of some mansion on which the pigeons are asleep.'

² 'On the chest of Murāri adorned with pearls like a cloud with a row of cranes, you, golden-hued fortunate one, shine like lightning, in amorous union.'

³ 'Rāma, beautiful like Cupid, separated from his beloved one, and seeing even the birds and beasts enjoying the pleasures of love in the pleasant forest on the banks of the lake Pampā, was himself seized with love-longing.'

⁴ 'The Kimpurusha kissed the face of his beloved one.'

⁵ 'The deer rubbed the doe.'

⁶ 'There is yet to be drawn the river Mālinī with pairs of swans nestling in the sand dunes, and near that the foot of the mountain, the sire of Gaurī (i. e., Himālayas), with deer seated on the slopes, and under the tree (in the foreground) with bark garments suspended from its boughs I desire to be put in a doe rubbing her left eye on the horn of the deer.'

Here it is the doe that rubs her eye on the tip of the horn of the stag. This tender subject of the love of animals, specially the intense affection of the stag and the doe, is masterfully dealt by the prince among poets Kālidāsa in his description of the heroic masculine attitude of the leader of the herd looking at the hunter-king straight in the face and shielding the does with their young ones still anxious for their feed of milk from their mothers' breasts and in that of the doe hurriedly taking the place of her lord in trying to protect him from being the target of the arrow, which on that account is withdrawn by the king, his heart filled with pity :

तस्य स्तनप्रणयिभिर्मुहुरेणशाबैर्व्याह्न्यमानहरिणीगमनं पुरस्तात् ।
आविर्भव कुशगर्भमुखं मृगाणां यूथं तदग्रसरगवितकृष्णसारम् ॥

Raghu., IX 55,¹

and :

लक्ष्मीकृतस्य हरिणस्य हरिप्रभावः
प्रेक्ष्य स्थितां सहचरीं व्यवधाय देहम्
आकर्णकृष्टमपि कामितया स धन्वी
वाणं कृपामृदुमनाः प्रतिसञ्जहार ॥

Raghu., IX. 57.²

Excellent sculptural appreciation of Kālidāsa's sweet thoughts of this love of the stag and the doe is found in that masterpiece of Pallava work titled Arjuna's penance where the doe watches the stag as it rubs its hoof on its nose (pl. XVII, 53). Incidentally it may be remarked that this sculpture reminds us of Śrī Harsha's verse :

स्वदृशोर्जनयन्ति सांत्वनां खुरकण्डूयनकैतवान्मृगाः ।
जितयोरुदयत्प्रमीलयोस्तदखर्वेक्षणशोभया भयात् ॥

Naishadhīya, II. 21.³

Suggesting the pairs of doves sleeping on the roof of some mansions where the cloud is also asked to rest along with his beloved lightning :

तां कस्याञ्चिद्भवनवलभौ सुप्तपारावतायां
नीत्वा रात्रिं चिरविलसनात्खिन्नविद्युत्कलत्रः ।

Megha., I. 38,⁴

is a sculpture from Bharhut showing the birds with their beaks cosily tucked under their wings sleeping on the roof of a mansion, thus exactly answering the literary description. In the panels representing the story of Rāma at Prāmbanam in Java there is one very significant (pl. XVII, 55). It shows Rāma and Sītā having a gay and happy time in Chitrakūṭa or Pañchavatī. And on the roof of their dwelling there are birds shown in pairs, one of which shows both the birds with their beaks together thus rubbing their bills and

¹ 'There appeared before him a herd of deer with their mouths full of grass, the does often impeded by the young ones longing for their milk-feed, the proud deer preceding them.'

² 'That great bowman, mighty like the lion, seeing the mate of the deer that he aimed at intervened and covered his body, was softened by pity, and being himself a lover, withdrew the arrow though he had drawn it up to the ear.'

³ 'The deer, on the pretext of rubbing their hoofs, convey consolation to their own eyes, drooping with a sense of defeat from the splendid beauty of her eyes.'

⁴ 'With your lightning consort, fatigued by long glimmering, please spend the night on the balcony of some mansion on which the pigeons are asleep.'

cooing in expression of intense love of which the human aspect is shown immediately below where the faces of Sītā and Rāma are shown one rubbing against the other in close and loving conversation. This at once reminds us of the remark of the Vidūshaka in the seventh *kakshyā* or courtyard of the mansion of Vasantasenā where he is pleased at the sight of doves cooing and different birds in cages and others on the roof, particularly pairs of doves cooing and rubbing their beaks :

विह्वलकः—ही ही भो, इधो वि सत्तमे पञ्चोद्वे सुसिलिद्विहङ्गवाडीलुहणिसण्णाइं
अण्णोण्णचुम्बनपराइं सुहं अणुभवन्ति पारवदमिहुणाइं । दहिभक्तपूरिदोदरो वम्हणो विअ
सुत्तं पढदि पञ्जरसुओ । (आश्चर्यं भोः, इहापि सप्तमे प्रकोष्ठे सुसिलिद्विहङ्गवाटी-
सुखनिषण्णान्यन्योन्यचुम्बनपराणि सुखमनुभवन्ति पारावतमिथुनानि । दधिभक्तपूरितोदरो ब्राह्मण
इव सूक्तं पठति पञ्जरशुकः ।)

Mṛichehhakaṭika, IV.¹

How vividly this literary picture of loving doves is presented in sculpture is also seen in another panel from Bharhut (pl. XVII, 54).

The line of the verse

कार्या सैकतलीनहंसमिथुना

Sākuntala, VI. 17²

and the verse :

अत्रावियुक्तानि रथाङ्गनाम्नामन्योन्यदत्तोत्पलकेसराणि ।
द्वन्द्वानि दूरान्तरवर्तिना ते मया प्रिये सस्पृहमीक्षितानि ॥

Raghu. XIII. 31³

giving us a picture of *hamsa-mithuna* and *chakravāka-mithuna* are no doubt best understood by us when we see how tremendously popular the theme is in sculpture as in painting and literature, for numerous are the representations of *hamsa-mithunas* in the decorative patterns at Ajanṭā.

In the *Raghuvaṃśa* there is a picture presented of the city of Ayodhyā neglected by Kuśa and paintings of pairs of elephants, the cow presenting lotus-stalks to the bull of the class worn and torn by lions mistaking them for real ones :

चित्रद्विपाः पद्मवनावतीर्णाः करेणुभिर्देतमृणालभङ्गाः ।
नखाङ्कुशाघातविभिन्नकुम्भाः संरन्ध्रसिंहप्रहृतं वहन्ति ॥

Raghu., XVI. 16.⁴

Excellent representation of such scene is found at Ajanṭā, where the *Chhadanta Jātaka* is portrayed with as much tenderness as at Amarāvātī where one of the medallions from the rail shows the elephants engaged in almost the same manner in a pond of lotuses.

¹ 'Vidūshaka—Oh wonderful ? In this the seventh courtyard is a well-arranged dovecot where pairs of pigeons sit at ease and enjoy kissing with their bills ; with the belly filled with curd and rice the parrot in the cage repeats hymns like a Brāhmin.'

² 'Swan pairs on the sand dunes have to be drawn.'

³ 'Oh my beloved ! Separated from you by a great distance I wishfully gazed at pairs of unseparated *chakravāka* birds mutually offering lotus filaments.'

⁴ 'Elephants painted (on the walls) as sporting in lotus ponds and offered lotus stalks by cow-elephants bear the blows of furious lions apparent in their temples torn by the strokes of their sharp goad-like nails.'

The tender love of bird-like creatures, Kinnaras, as described in the Jātakas is often depicted in Buddhist sculptures from Gandhāra, Bhārhut and other places in India but probably the best representation of this is from Java. The king in the story questions the Kinnaras and learns that it was impossible for them to reconcile themselves to their separation for even one single night which alone was the cause of their grief. In Sanskrit literature the concept of the *chakravāka mithuna* is the nearest approach to this. The Kinnaras themselves are conceived as half equine and half human sometimes with the head of a horse and human body and sometimes with the body of the horse and human bust. Even here the Kinnaras are conceived as *mithunas* and we have an instance of prince Chandrāpīḍa running after a *kinnara-mithuna*, losing his way and meeting Mahāśvetā as described in the *Kādambarī*.

The Nāgas are extremely passionate and in fact the word *bhujāṅga* with its double meaning is used for a passionate person and the chief city is Bhogavatī, the town of enjoyment; there are numerous representations of *nāga-dāmpatī* (pl. XVIII, 56) and this intense love is indicated by the clever suggestion of intertwining coils binding them together in affection and this is a *premapāśa* also a *nāgapāśa*.

All these are instances of love in union and come under *sambhoga*. *Vipralambha*, love in separation, is a great theme in itself. We have already touched on the subject here and there in discussing some aspects of the separation of the Yaksha and Yakshī described in the *Meghadūta*. But the full warmth of appreciation of feminine or masculine beauty gushes forth only when the separated one pictures to himself or herself the charm of every limb of the beloved one. We can take the Yaksha in the *Meghadūta* or Vikrama in the *Vikramorvaśīya* or Mādhava in the *Mālatīmādhava* and so forth for the one and Sītā in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and Mahāśvetā in the *Kādambarī* for the other as examples.

XIX. FEMININE BEAUTY STANDARD

To take the ideal of feminine beauty the verse of the *Meghadūta* :

तन्वी श्यामा शिखरिदशना पक्वबिम्बाधरोष्ठी
मध्ये क्षामा चकितह्रिणीप्रेक्षणा निम्ननाभिः ।
श्रोणीभारादलसगमना स्तोकनम्रा स्तनाभ्यां
या तत्र स्याद्वृत्तिविषये सृष्टिराद्येव धातुः ॥

Megha., II. 21¹

succintly puts it and probably there is no better single sculpture than the Didārganj *chauri*-bearer to illustrate effectively this description of Kālidāsa combining so many of the points of beauty in one. The side view of this is a graphic commentary on *stokanamrā stanābhyām*.² The beauty of the attenuated waist and heavy hips as given in the lines *madhye kshāmā*³ and *śroṇī bhārād alasagamanā*⁴ are also clearly shown here. The eyes comparable to the frightened looks of the fawn are indeed most charmingly formed as parts of a very graceful

¹ 'Slim, youthful, with fine teeth and lips (red) like ripe *bimba* fruit, attenuated in the waist, with eyes like those of the frightened doe and deep navel, slow of gait by the weight of the hips and slightly bent by her (full) breasts, she is as it were the first and the best in the creation of the feminine by the Creator.'

² 'Slightly bent by her (full) breasts.'

³ 'Attenuated in the waist.'

⁴ 'Slow of gait by the weight of the hips.'

face. The navel in accordance with the canons of beauty in India is deep. ¶ And surely it is, as Kālidāsa puts it in the case of the Yakshī, not only the first feminine masterpiece of Dhātā but, in terms of sculpture in India, an early masterpiece of the Indian sculptor.

The beauty of the teeth of the Yakshī described as *śikharidaśanā*¹ cannot ordinarily be sought in all sculptures as even where a smile is present the teeth do not come into play. There are however a few sculptures showing a broader smile and presenting the beauty of the teeth. One such is the figure of the lady pressing her right breast preserved in the Lucknow Museum. Here the tiny teeth well-shaped and all in a beautiful row make her charming face all the more lovely.

Similarly the Yakshī under the tree adorning her ear with a *kunḍala* from a *chaitya*-window from Amarāvati (fig. 7) presents us a typical beautiful woman according to the



Fig. 7. Yakshī wearing *kunḍala* and *suvarṇavaikakshaka* from Amarāvati—Sātavāhana, 2nd century A. D., Madras Government Museum, Madras

accepted canons of literature and art in India. Another sculpture from Amarāvati shows the *trivalī* clearly. The thighs comparable to the plantain tree and the elephant's trunk may be judged from the illustration given and the poet may very well say :

कदली कदली करभः करभः करिराजकरः करिराजकरः ।
भुवनत्रितयेऽपि विभर्ति तुलामिदमूर्युगं न चमूरुदृशः ॥

Sāhityadarpaṇa, IV. ³

Prasannarāghava, 1, 37.²

Kālidāsa's description of the full breasts without space between them :

अन्योन्यमुत्पीडयदुत्पलाक्ष्याः स्तनद्वयं पाण्डु तथा प्रवृद्धम् ।
मध्ये यथा श्याममुखस्य तस्य मृणालसूत्रान्तरमप्यलभ्यम् ॥

Kumāra., 1, 40³

may equally be seen in sculpture where the literary tradition is clearly illustrated visually.

¹ 'With fine teeth.'

² 'The plantain tree is just the plantain tree, the contour of the side of the palm is only that, the elephant's trunk is just an elephant's trunk ; does anything compare in the three worlds with this thigh of the fawn-eyed damsel ?'

³ 'The pair of fair breasts of the lotus-eyed one, with dark nipple in the centre, so developed rubbing against each other that even a lotus fibre could not go between them.'

Kālidāsa wonders whether the marvellous beauty of the long blue eyes of the beautiful woman with furtive glances was taken from that of the eyes of the fawns or whether it is from these beautiful human eyes that the animals got it :

प्रवातनीलोत्पलनिर्विशेषमधीरविप्रेक्षितमायताक्ष्या ।

तया गृहीतं नु मृगाङ्गनाभ्यस्ततो गृहीतं नु मृगाङ्गनाभिः ॥

Kumāra., I. 46.¹

Indeed when actually considered the comparison is very apt as the illustration will show. Similarly the frequent description of the eye as resembling the lotus-petal and the blue lily :

उन्निद्रतामरसपत्रविशालनेत्राम्

Chaurapañchāśikā, 81²

त्वय्यासन्ने नयनमुपरिस्पन्दि शङ्के मृगाक्ष्या

मीनक्षोभाच्चलकुवलयश्रीतुलामेष्यतीति ॥

Megha., II. 34³

has also abundant justification as may be seen from the illustration. It is specially the half closed eyes from Ajañtā that fully illustrate this point. The full lips comparable to the *bimba* fruit are equally charmingly expressed in sculpture and painting. The eye-brows comparable to a bow doubly bent :

तस्याः शलाकाञ्जननिर्मितेन कान्तिर्भ्रुवोरायतलेखयोर्या ।

तां वीक्ष्य लीलाचतुरामनङ्गः स्वचापसौन्दर्यमदं मुमोच ॥

Kumāra., I. 47⁴

are nowhere so expressive as in some of the Gupta sculptures and paintings. The soft moon-like face of the Nāginī with a brilliantly-worked pearl-decoration on *dhamilla* beside the Nāgaraja from Ajañtā (pl. XVIII, 57) is one of the most charming representations taking a rank only with the princess at her toilet in a painting from Ajañtā (fig. 8). This and the other sum up as it were the entire thesis on feminine beauty.

A single verse of Kālidāsa :

स्थिताः क्षणं पक्ष्मसु ताडिताधराः पयोधरोत्सेधनिपातचूर्णिताः ।

वलीपु तस्याः स्खलिताः प्रपेदिरे चिरेण नाभिं प्रथमोदविन्दवः ॥

Kumāra., V. 24⁵

giving the description of the first drops of rain falling on Pārvatī engaged in penance has been quoted by Appayya Dikshita as excellent example of suggestion of the exquisite

¹ 'Were the timid glances of the long-eyed one, resembling the blue lotuses agitated in the wind, borrowed by her from the fawns, or, did the fawns borrow them from her ?'

² 'She with eyes wide like the petal of the full-blown lotus.'

³ 'I think that the eyes of the fawn-eyed one looking up as you approach would resemble the beauty of blue lotus agitated by the (moving) fish.'

⁴ 'Cupid abandoned his pride in the beauty of his bow on seeing the sportively beautiful splendour of her brows in long streaks painted with the collyrium pencil.'

⁵ 'The first drops of rain stopped for a moment on her eye-lashes, struck her lips, broke into bits by their fall on her high breasts, and dropping in cascades on the folds of her stomach they at long last reached her navel.'

beauty and the fine contours of feminine form. This is more than beautifully and expressively given in sculpture, as the ancient Indian sculptor was well-acquainted with literature and being a *nāgaraka*, man of taste, well knew to express himself as effectively in any medium.



Fig. 8. The princess at her toilet—Gupta-Vākātaka, 5th century A.D., Ajanṭā, Hyderabad, Deccan

If the verse in Kālidāsa's *Sākuntalā* describing a beautiful pose of Śakuntalā with her face turned back for a last look at Dushyanta before parting with one of her feet raised on the pretext of removing a thorn is a masterpiece of a literary picture there are numerous such in sculpture, for what are *bhaṅgas* or flexions except for enhancing the natural beauty of form by appropriate rhythmic curves and movements of the body of which we have a remark of the Vidūshaka in the *Mṛichchhakatika* about the brother of Vasantasenā whose every movement in rhythmic curves enhanced the natural beauty of his figure :

विदूषकः—भोदि, को एसो पट्टपावारअपाउदो अधिअदरं अच्चवभुदपुणरुत्तालंकारांकिदो अङ्गभङ्गेहि परिवखलन्तो इदो तदो परिभ्रमति । (भवति, क एप पट्टपावारकप्रावृतोऽधिकतरमत्यद्भुतपुनरुत्तालङ्कारालङ्कृतोऽङ्गभङ्गैः परिस्वलन्नितस्ततः परिभ्रमति ।)

चेटी :—अज्ज, एसो अज्जअए भादा भोदि । (आर्य एप आर्याया भ्राता भवति ।)

Mṛichchhakatika, IV.¹

¹ 'Vidūshaka—Oh lady ! who is this man who moves hither and thither, covering himself with a silk cloth, his body moving in flexions and as it were beautifying again his already ornamented body.

Maid—Master ! he is the brother of my mistress.'

The various movements recorded in literature as *matta-hamsavadhū-gamana*¹, *kala-hamsīshu madālasam gatam*² for women, stately walk like that of the ruddy goose, or *simha-vikrānta-gamana*³ and *gajendra-gamana*⁴, the noble gait of the lion or elephant associated with men of noble birth, are but expressions of this rhythmic movement of the limbs. The swan gait or *hamsagamana* is very beautifully suggested in sculpture as already remarked by showing the swan near the feet of the lady, the sweet sound of the anklet also resembling that of the bird. All the *karaṇas*, *sthānas* and *aṅgaḥāras* of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* are based on this principle of beautiful flexions and movements of the body.

XX.—MASCULINE BEAUTY STANDARD

The standard of beauty in the form of man is also well depicted in sculpture closely following the literary canons. The face is no doubt comparable to the disc of the moon, which amuses the lady of royal fortune when she is deprived of a look at his face when prince charming is asleep :

निद्रावशेन भवताप्यनपेक्षमाणा पर्युत्सुकत्वमवला निशि खण्डितेव ।

लक्ष्मीर्विनोदयति येन दिगन्तलम्बी सोऽपि त्वदाननरुचि विजहाति चन्द्रः ॥

Raghu., V. 67.⁵

Excellent sculptural representation of lovely masculine face is that of the Nāgarāja with Nāgī from Ajanṭā with elaborate pearl-decked crown and that of the utterly simple but supremely effective smiling Buddha preaching from Sārnāth. Here his eyes are like *padmadalas*, as also in the case of the Nāgarāja from Ajanṭā.

The remark *pīṇau sama-sujātāmsau*⁶ in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, describing the shapely shoulders of Rāvaṇa, holds good in these figures as well. The thin waist described as *simhakaṭi* is most effectively depicted in some of the Pallava and early Chōḷa bronzes, but it is a common factor in all Indian sculpture. If we take the marriage of Śiva from Elephantā we can well compare the broad shoulders, the long arms, attenuated waist and majestic person of Śiva with the drooping shoulders, full breasts, very narrow waist, broad hips and lovely thighs of beautiful Umā, the one as a model of masculine and the other of feminine beauty.

XXI.—APPAREL

In early sculpture all over the land, whether in Kushan sculpture from Mathurā or in Sātavāhana sculpture from the Dakṣiṇāpatha, emphasis was placed on the term *subhaga*, and figures of both the sexes were represented virtually nude though really draped. It has been often questioned whether in ancient India women wore sufficient apparel, as generally in early Indian sculpture they are shown practically nude. But it requires to see more carefully to understand that they were really well-draped, only

¹ 'The gait of the ruddy goose.'

² 'The slow and stately gait has gone to the ruddy geese.'

³ 'Noble gait like that of the lion.'

⁴ 'The gait of the elephant.'

⁵ 'The moon, lingering at the extremity of the western quarter is losing the splendour of your face, with which Lakṣmī beguiles herself at night to satisfy her longing like a forlorn lady as she is regardless of you (when) in the hold of slumber.'

⁶ 'Robust, symmetrical well-shaped shoulder.'

the material of the drapery was very delicate and diaphanous. This can be observed by seeing the fringe of the cloth worn clearly indicated below the ankles and just above the feet in all these sculptures of Yakshīs from Bhūtesar. Similarly this dress known as *āprapadīna*, up to the foot, is also depicted in Amarāvātī sculpture. In Gupta sculpture the *ardhoruka* or half drawers, covering half the thighs, is sometimes depicted and sometimes it is a frock up to the ankles and a long shirt somewhat like the dress of the Panjabi women today. In Amarāvātī sculpture the *stanottarīya* is sometimes depicted covering the breasts. A portion of the *antarīya* is often shown tied up round about the *mekhalā* either centrally to the front or towards one side as may be noticed in sculpture and this is the *nīrībandha*, so often mentioned in literature as loosened by the lover :

अयं स रत्नोत्कर्षी पीनस्तनविमर्दनः ।
नाभ्यूरुजघनस्पर्शी नीवीविस्त्रंसनः करः ॥

Mahābhārata, XI. 24. 19.¹

This *stanottarīya* and the *antarīya* are sometimes marked with patterns, and these are the designs giving variegated effect to the apparel which is graphically described in literature as of the colour of a bright green field dotted by red *indragopa* insects. It is this kind of apparel that Kālidāsa calls *chitrām vāsaḥ*. Some of these patterns were worked with small pearls and precious stones to which Kālidāsa refers. In Bharhut sculpture this kind of pattern work on cloth is depicted sometimes when it is shown issuing from the *kalpavallī*. Among the patterns for the border, whether for men or for women, specially on marriage occasions and even ordinarily otherwise, that of the row of geese was very popular :

आमुक्ताभरणः स्रग्वी हंसचिह्नदुकूलवान् ।
आसीदतिशयप्रेक्ष्यः स राज्यश्रीवधूवरः ॥

Raghu., XVII. 25²

त्वमेव तावत्परिचिन्तय स्वयं कदाचिदेते यदि योगमर्हतः ।
वधूदुकूलं कलहंसलक्षणं गजाजिनं शोणितविन्दुर्वपि च ॥

Kumāra., V. 67³

are verses from Kālidāsa to be remembered in this context. A fine early mediaeval painting from Nepal, a photograph of which is in the collection of Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji, shows Śiva wearing a silken cloth with *haṁsa* decoration. The fine transparent upper cloth comparable to *sarpanīrmoka*, so graphically described in the case of the emperor Harshavardhana as fluttering even by the impact of breath :

अमृतफेनपिण्डपाण्डुना मेखलामणिमयूखखचितेन नितम्बविम्बव्यासङ्गिना विमलपयोधौतेन
नेत्रसूत्रनिवेशशोभिनाधरवाससा वासुकिनिर्मकिणेव मन्दरं द्योतमानम्, अघनेन सतारागणेनोपरिकृतेन
द्वितीयाम्वरेण भुवनाभोगमिव भासमानम्

Harshacharita, II, p. 72⁴

¹ 'This is the hand that pulled the girdle, pressed the ample breasts, touched the navel, thighs and hips, and loosened the knot of the lower garment.'

² 'That bridegroom of the bride Royal Fortune appeared most beautiful to look at decked with ornaments and flower garlands and wearing silken cloth decorated with swan border.'

³ 'You may yourself consider this awhile whether these two deserve to come together, the silken cloth of the bride decorated with swan border and the elephant hide dripping drops of blood.'

⁴ 'Shining like mountain Mandara with the slough of (snake) Vāsuki, by his lower garment made of the

and

निर्मोकनिभैरकठोररम्भागर्भकोमलैर्निश्वासहार्यैः स्पर्शानुमेयैर्वासोभिः सर्वतः स्फुरद्भिः

Harshacharita, IV. p. 143¹

and of which the famous Dacca muslin is a suitable example, is exceedingly well-represented in appropriately fluttering wavy lines gently incised over the chest of figures specially from Bengal in the best period of Pāla and Sena art (fig. 9). Besides its occurrence on the chest of the beautiful Vishṇu, Sūrya and Śiva images, it also occurs as fine *stanottariya*, of which

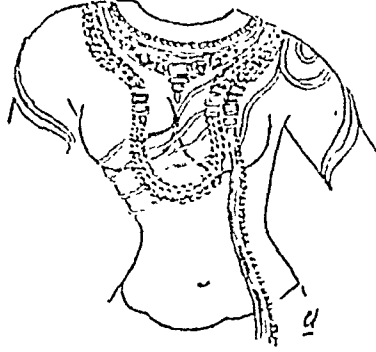


Fig. 9. Transparent upper cloth for covering breasts—Pāla, 11th century A.D., Indian Museum, Calcutta

probably the best representation is in the case of the charming figure of Gaṅgā from the Rājshāhī Museum. Here the *kuchabandha* is shown actually with the *bandha* or knot, reminding us of the line from the *Sākuntala* requesting her companions Priyamvadā and Anasūyā to loosen it :

शकुन्तला — सहि अणसूए, अदिपिण्डेण वक्कलेण पिअंवदाए णिअन्तिदम्हि ।
सिद्धिकेहि दावणं । (सखि अणसूये, अतिपिण्डेण वत्कलेण प्रियंवदया निमन्त्रितास्मि ।
शिथिलय तावदेतत् ।)

अणसूया — तह । (तथा ।) (इति शिथिलयति)²

and the remark of the former :

प्रियंवदा — (सहासम् ।) एत्थ पओहरवित्थारइत्तअं अत्तणो जीवणं
अवालह । (अत्र पयोधरविस्तारयित्वा आत्मनो यौवनमुपालभस्व ।)

Sākuntala, I³

regarding her fullness of youth applies equally to this full-breasted figure of the river goddess. Such fine transparent cloth with pattern worked on it with gems and almost

finest silken thread pale like the collection of ambrosial foam and immaculately white like milk settled on his rounded hips lit with the effulgence of the gems on his waist cord, and appearing to light up the expanse of the earth by his thin second garment decorated with stars worn above.'

¹ 'With cloths seen all around resembling snake sloughs, soft like the inside of tender plantain stalk, blown even by the breath and almost inferred only by touch.'

² 'Sākuntalā -- Oh friend Anasūyā ! I have been induced by Priyamvadā to wear the bark cloth rather tightly. Please loosen it.

Anasūyā—Yes (she loosens).'

³ 'Priyamvadā—You should here blame your own youth which is enlarging your breasts.'

blown away by breath and extremely cool for wear in summer for woman is mentioned by Kālidāsa :

समागम्य रत्नगशितोत्तरीयं
एकान्तपाण्डुरत्ननलम्बिहारम् ।
निश्वासादप्यङ्गमाजगाम
धर्मः प्रियानेनमित्रोपदेष्टुम् ॥

Raghu., XVI, 43.¹

XXII. ORNAMENTS : PHALAKAHĀRAS, EKĀVALĪ, ETC.

Sanskrit literature teems with descriptions of different varieties of ornaments, and sculpture abounds in representations of these, too numerous to easily take count of them, but neither can be understood properly without the help of the other ; and without the study of both together it is again idle to expect to comprehend the decorative genius of our ancients. Sometimes certain ornaments mentioned in very early literature have their representations in the nearly contemporary sculpture and painting ; thereafter they go out of use and disappear both from sculptural and literary focus. The *phalakahāra*, *phalakavalya* are ornaments mentioned in the *Arthasāstra* of Kauṭilya, and they are found represented in the sculptures and paintings that come nearest in date to the text. The fact that they occur in the earliest sculpture of the land and are absent in later carvings serves as an additional independent proof of the early date of the text of Kauṭilya. Now it may be wondered what this *phalakahāra* is. It is composed of a number of strands of gold or other gem beads with flat rectangular slabs at intervals which may be three or five or seven :

एकसीपिंकमष्टो द्वारः । तद्वच्छेपाः । मणिमध्योऽर्धमाणवकः । त्रिफलकः फलकहारः
पञ्चफलको वा ।

Arthasāstra, Text, p. 76.²

In the sculptures of the first period at Amarāvati, in the earliest paintings from Ajantā from cave X, in the earliest carvings from the Western Indian caves like that from Bhājā, in the Sāncī sculptures and those from Bharhut and Bodhi-Gayā, in the earliest carvings from Mathurā the ornament for the neck is only the *phalakahāra* and nothing else. Similarly the *phalakavalya* is found adorning the wrist of women in these schools of sculpture. It is composed of a number of strands as in the case of the *phalakahāra* with large and gem-set slab-like clasps at intervals. In Kushan and Gupta sculpture the necklet most favoured is the *ekāvalī*, a simple necklace composed of pearls with a large central *nāyakamaṇi*, described by Kālidāsa :

प्रेक्षिष्यन्ते गगनगतयो नूनमावर्ज्यं दृष्टी-
रेकं मुक्तागुणमिव भुवः स्थूलमध्येन्द्रनीलम् ॥

Megha., I. 46.³

¹ 'Summer came as if to teach the dress to be worn by his beloved one, upper garment with decorative gems sewn in it, pearl necklace hanging on the extremely fair breasts and silken cloth blown by the very breath.'

² 'When all the strands composing the necklace are *śīrshakas* (i.e., necklace of pearls of uniform size with larger central pearl) it is called *śuddhakāra* or pure necklace ; similarly other necklaces of that type ; *ardhamāṇavaka* is a pearl necklace with a gem in the centre ; a *phalakahāra* is a necklace with three gem slabs or five provided.'

³ 'As they go in the sky they will divert their vision and see it appear like a string of pearls for Earth with a large sapphire in the middle.'

The pearl necklace with the central large-sized blue gem exactly described here is easily distinguished in painting from Ajañṭā. Varieties of necklaces giving the number of strings of *yashṭis* composing them and the nature of the central gem or pearl or gold globe, determining such names as *śīrshaka*, *upaśīrshaka*, *prakāṇḍaka*, *navaghāṭaka*, *tarala-pratibandha*, *viṣayachchanda*, *ardhahāra*, *raśmikalāpa*, *guchchha*, *nakshatramālā*, *ardhaguchchha*, *māṇavaka* and *ardhamāṇavaka*, are all discussed and described in the *Arthaśāstra*, and sculpture which gives many varieties of these has rich material to help in proper understanding of the nature of these ornaments. The *vyāghranakha* ornament for the neck in the case of children, so often mentioned by Bāṇa in the *Kādambarī* and *Harshacharita* :

समभिव्यज्यमानसहजक्षेत्रतेजसीव हाटकबद्धविकटव्याघ्रनखपङ्क्तिमण्डितग्रीवे

Harshacharita, IV. p. 134,¹

and

वालग्रीवेव व्याघ्रनखपङ्क्तिमण्डिता मण्डलाभरणा च

Kādambarī, p. 20²

has fine representation in sculpture of juvenile subjects, a fine one being that of baby Kārttikeya seated on peacock from the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan from Banaras. The flat rich neck-ornament set with rubies and emeralds and other precious gems described graphically in the *Gāthāsaptasatī* :

उग्र पोम्मराग्रमरगग्रसंवलित्रा णहग्रलाग्रो ओग्ररङ्ग ।

णहसिरिकण्ठम्भट्ट व्व कण्ठिआ कीररिञ्छोली ॥

[पश्य पद्मरागमरकतसंवलिता नभस्तलादवतरति ।

नभःश्रीकण्ठभ्रष्टेव कण्ठिका कीरपङ्क्तिः ' ॥]

Gāthāsaptasatī, I. 75³

has fine sculptural representation in Bharhut, Mathurā, Amarāvati and other sculptures. The jewel known as *nishka* described in the *Rāmāyaṇa* as worn by Sītā :

पुरा वराहर्त्तमनिष्ककण्ठीम्

Rāmāyaṇa, VI. 5. 25⁴

is composed of gold coins and, according to Dr. Bhandarkar, is called in the Jaina *Kalpa-sūtra*, *uratta-dinara-malaya*, a string of *dinaras* on the breast, of which the modern Mahārāshtra coin necklace *putalya* is a survival. The *nishka* is the same as the *kāśumālai* used in South India, and another variety of it is the *māṅgāmālai*, where the coins are shaped after the contour of the mango-fruit. Amarāvati sculpture gives a representation of the *nishka*, and in a carving from Nāgārjunakoṇḍa a very early representation of *māṅgāmālai* may be seen. The beautiful description of Bāṇa in the *Kādambarī* of the *keyūra* entwining

¹ 'With his neck adorned with a row of crooked tiger claws fitted with gold and thereby appearing to proclaim his natural glory of warrior birth.'

² 'Like the neck of a boy decorated with a row of tiger claws and neck ornament.'

³ 'Look ! a row of parrots descends from the sky, commingling the hues of rubies and emeralds, as if it were the necklet of the goddess of heaven slipped and falling.'

⁴ 'Once with neck adorned with excellent costly necklace of sovereigns.'

the arms 'like a couple of snakes fond of the smell of sandal applied to the body':

अतिचपलराज्यलक्ष्मीबन्धनिगडकटकशङ्कामुपजनयतेन्द्रनीलकेयूरयुगलेन मलयजरसगन्धलुब्धेन
भुजङ्गद्वयेनेव वेष्टितबाहुशिखरम्

Kādambarī, p. 9¹

is illustrated in sculpture by similar entwining creeper-like armlets. In the case of *valayas* or bracelets there are sculptural representations of different varieties. *Ratnavalayas* set with precious stones mentioned in the *Rāmāyaṇa* :

मणिविद्रुमचित्राणि हस्तेष्वाभरणानि च ।

Rāmāyaṇa, V. 15. 42²

kanakadora or golden strings twisted into an elegant rope corresponding to what is today known as *golusu* in Tamil and *jālavālayas* or perforated bracelets, of which a picturesque description is given in the *Gāthāsaptasatī* :

ल्लूणहलिद्वाभरिअन्तराईं जालाईं जालवलअस्स ।
सोहन्ति किलिञ्चिअकण्टएण कं काहिसी कअत्थम् ॥
[स्तानहरिद्वाभृतान्तराणि जालानि जालवलयस्य ।
शोधयन्ती क्षुद्रकण्टकेन कं करिण्यसि कृतार्थम् ॥]

Gāthāsaptasatī, I. 80³

are all represented in sculpture. Bracelets are shown worn by both men and women, but in the case of the latter there is a special significance of auspiciousness as indicating wifehood, *avidhavā-lakṣhaṇa-valaya* as the *Gāthāsaptasatī* puts it :

अविहवलवखणवलअं ठाणं णेन्तो पुणो पुणो गलिअम् ।
सहिसत्थो च्चिअ माणंसिणीअ वलअरओ जाओ ॥
[अविधवालक्षणवलयं स्थानं नयन्नुनःपुनर्गलितम् ।
सखीसार्थ एव मनस्विन्या वलयकारको जातः ॥]

Gāthāsaptasatī, VI, 39.⁴

The variety of ear-ornament is legion. The *kuṇḍala* is the common term for the ear-ornament, and there are varieties like *mṛiṣṭakunḍala*, *makarakunḍala* and so forth. The *mākarakunḍala* is distinguished by the beautiful shape of *makara*, crocodile-fish, that it takes after and is the most popular variety. The *mṛiṣṭakunḍala* is a plain variety, highly polished and shining. Both occur frequently in sculpture. In early sculpture there is a peculiar *kuṇḍala* which answers closely the description suggested by its name

¹ 'With the upper part of the arms entwined by a pair of emerald armlets like a couple of snakes attracted by the smell of sandal applied to the body and creating an apprehension that they were probably shackles to bind the goddess of Fortune who is so fickle and fleeting.'

² 'Ornaments on the hands variegated by their decoration with gems and coral.'

³ 'Whom will you make a blessed one as you clean with a small thorn the interstices in your perforated bangle choked up with turmeric powder while bathing.'

⁴ 'The group of lady companions became the bangle pedlar for that sensitive lady as they repeatedly put the auspicious bangle indicating wifehood even as it slipped down over and over again.'

karṇaveshṭana mentioned in the *Rāmāyaṇa* as it entwines the ear-lobe :

सुकृतौ कर्णवेष्टौ च श्वदंष्ट्रौ च सुसंस्कृतौ ॥

Rāmāyaṇa, V. 15. 42.¹

This is another instance of very early sculpture throwing light on very early text, and *vice versa*. The *karṇaveshṭana* type does not occur in later sculpture. Other varieties like *danta-patra*, ivory leaf, for the ear-lobe for playful young women as described in the *Sisūpālavadha* :

विलासिनीविभ्रमदन्तपत्रिकाविधित्सया नूनमनेन मानिना ।

न जातु वैनायकमेकमुद्धतं विपाणमद्यापि पुनः प्ररोहति ॥

Sisūpālavadha, I. 60²

or *kanakapatra* or gold-leaf as described in the *Chaurapañchāśikā* :

अद्यापि तन्मनसि संप्रति वर्तते मे

रात्रौ मयि क्षुतवति क्षितिपालगुत्र्या ।

जीवेति मङ्गलवचः परिहृत्य कोपा-

त्कर्णे कृतं कनकपत्रमनालपन्त्या ॥

Chaurapañchāśikā, 79³

both based on the simpler palm-leaf scroll occur frequently in sculpture. *Karṇapūra*, as the very name suggests, is for filling the lobe of the ear. There are different types of *karṇapūra*, some cylindrical with pearl-tassels, of which fine examples may be seen in sculpture of the 2nd century A. D. almost all over the land. The *tāṭaṅka* is of different varieties. That set with pearls *muktātāṭaṅka* or set with gems and rubies is the type mentioned in the *Amaruśataka*, where the *vadhū* offers her ear-jewel to the parrot as pomegranate fruit for stopping its indiscreet talk :

दम्पत्योर्निशि जल्पतोगृहशुकेनाकर्णितं यद्वचः

तत्प्रातर्गुरुसन्निधौ निगदतस्तस्यातिमात्रं वधूः ।

कर्णालम्बितपद्मरागशकलं विन्यस्य चञ्चूपुटे

ब्रीडार्ता विदधाति दाडिमफलव्याजेन वाग्वन्धनम् ॥

Amaruśataka, 15.⁴

Kanakakamala mentioned by Kālidāsa is an ear-ornament shaped after the lotus in gold :

पत्रच्छेदैः कनककमलैः कर्णविभ्रंशिभिश्च ।

Megha., II. 11.⁵

¹ 'Excellently made *karṇaveshṭanas* and well burnished *śvadamshṭras*'.

² 'One of the tusks of Vināyaka pulled out by that proud Rāvaṇa for preparing sportive ivory scroll ear-ornaments for playful damsels does not grow again even now.'

³ 'Even now it lingers in my mind, how the princess as I sneezed in the night almost uttered the auspicious word 'live long' but cut herself short being angry (with me) and put back her golden palm scroll in her ear silently.'

⁴ 'The young lady of the house terribly tormented by shame, at the utterance of the pet parrot in the presence of elders in the morning, of what it had heard spoken by the wedded couple during the night, stops its prattle by putting in its beak her ruby-set ear-ring as if it were pomegranate fruit.'

⁵ 'Tender shoots and ear drops of lotus pattern slipped from their ears.'

It is the same as the modern *karnaphāl*. The *trikaṇṭaka* and *bālīka* mentioned by Bāṇa :

कदम्बमुकुलरूपमुत्ताफलमुगलमयाध्यासितमरकतमय त्रिकण्टककर्णाभरणस्य प्रेक्षितः
प्रभया नमुह्यमाना कुनकुमुमहन्ति कुन्दपल्लवकर्णावतंसमिवोपलभ्यमाणम्

Harshacharita, p. 22,¹

and

काश्चिदुद्भूयमानधवलनामरमटालन्नित्रिकण्टकवनिनविकटकटाक्षाः

Harshacharita, p. 133²

are varieties having fine examples shown in sculpture. The *karnikā* is shaped after the seed-vessel of the lotus and is exactly like the *jimikki* in Tamil connoting the same part of the lotus in that language. The *raṣanā* or the *mekhalā* has infinite variety in sculpture. The finest representation of the waist-zone is from Bharhut. It occurs in the case of Sirimādevatā, and different patterns of beads are shown. Sanskrit poets are never tired of singing the glory of the musical tinkling of the *raṣanā*, always compared to the sweet notes of the swan. A whole epic, the greatest in Tamil literature, is based on the anklet *Silappadigāram* and on the girdle of gems *Maṇimekhalai*. Sometimes the bells as they are shown in Bharhut sculpture tinkle from the *kūñchī*, another term for *raṣanā* :

वीनिक्षोभन्तनिविष्टमध्रेषितस्त्रीगुणयाः

मनमन्त्या रगनिनगुनमं दग्निवाचिनाभेः ।

Megha, I, 29.³

Mekhalābandha as mentioned in the *Kūḍambarī* is a kind of sash tied in ribbon-fashion, of which sculptural representation presents a clear picture. The *Sronīsūtra* or the waist-cord is very thick and thicker still the robe-girdle called *raṣanābāma* :

श्रोणीमूढेण महता मेनकेन मुमंयुतः ।

अमृतोत्सादनद्धेन भुजगेनेव मन्दरः ॥

Rāmāyaṇa, V. 9. 47.⁴

Among the jewels for the head the *chulāmakarikā* showing the crocodile-pattern referred to by Bāṇa :

नीलनामरावचूनिनीच चूडामणिमकरिक्तमनाश्च

Harshacharita, I. p. 33⁵

also called *uttamāṅgamakarī* by Mañkha :

देवस्याद्रिभिदुत्तमाङ्गमकरीन्निटाङ्गिरेणुखजः

कैलासाद्रिसभापतेरिति मया मङ्गलेन मङ्गायते ॥

Śrīkaṇṭhacharita, I, 56⁶

¹ 'Appearing as if he were wearing a nosegay of jasmine buds and green shoots by the spreading lustre of the swaying ear-ornament *trikaṇṭaka* composed of a pair of pearls as large as *kadamba* buds with an emerald between them.'

² 'Some damsels with their glances turned towards the *trikaṇṭaka* caught in the hair of the white *chauri* as it was waved.'

³ 'Of the stream (Nirvindhya) tripping beautifully as she moved slowly along, with her girdle string of rows of birds sounding at the movement of the waves, and revealing her whirlpool navel.'

⁴ 'With a big black waist cord wound around him (he looked) like Mount Mandar : with snake wound round it for producing ambrosia (by churning the ocean).'

⁵ 'As if crowned by a dark *chauri* wearing the *chulāmaṇimakarikā* (crocodile pattern gem for the hair).'

⁶ 'I, Mañkha, act as hard to that god, the lord of the dance hall on mount Kailāsa, the dust particles on whose feet are kissed by the *uttamāṅgamakarī* (crest crocodile ornament) of Indra (lit. mountain-smasher).'

has lovely representations in sculpture (fig. 10). The *chūḍāmaṇi* itself is shaped like a lotus, and it has a fine representation in art, as also the *chūḍāmaṇimakarikā*, which is beautifully given in one of the carvings from Nāgārjunakoṇḍa. *Chaṭulātīlaka*, like *lalā-*



Fig. 10. *Uttamāṅgama-*
karī—Ikshvāku, 3rd
century A.D., Nāgārjun-
akoṇḍa, South India

tīkā, is a beautiful circular ornament suspended by a golden chain centrally near the *sīmanta* or the parting of the hair :

ललाटलासकस्य सीमन्तचुम्बिनश्चटुलातिलकमणेश्चदञ्चता चटुलेनांशुजालेन रक्तांशुकेनेव
कृतशिरोवगुण्ठना

Harshacharita, p. 32.¹

The golden decoration on the *praveṇī* or the long plaited hair that Kālidāsa describes as evincing the admiration of prince Śatrughna watching the dark stream of Yamunā with golden flamingoes moving on its surface suggesting the dark plaited braid of earth decorated with golden strips :

तत्र सौधगतः पश्यन्मूनां चक्रवाकिनीम् ।
हेमभक्तिमतीं भूमेः प्रवेणीमिव पिप्रिये ॥

Raghu., XV. 30.²

has fine sculptural version at Amarāvati. The *nūpura* called *mañinūpura* is the anklet with gems set on it as well as small precious stones put in the hollow of it, so that there is a musical sound produced by their jingling during movement, and this accounts for the name *mañjīra*, 'sounding sweet'. The beautiful sound of the *mañjīra* attracting swans following the foot-steps of beautiful ladies is often described by poets :

मेघश्यामा दिशो दृष्ट्वा मानसोत्सुकचेतसा ।
कूजितं राजहंसेन नेदं नूपुरशिञ्जितम् ॥

and

हंस प्रयच्छ मे कान्तां गतिरस्यास्त्वया हृता ।

Vikramorvaśīya, IV. 30 and 33.³

¹As if her head was covered with a red silken veil by the glimmering rays issuing from the *caṭulātīlaka* (forehead gem) that kissed the parting of the hair as it swayed rhythmically on the forehead.

²There, from the palace, he saw Yamunā with *chakravāka* birds (on her stream) and enjoyed (the sight) as it appeared like the plaited hair of Earth with decoration of golden jewels.

³It is only the sound of the swan longing for the Mānasa lake at the sight of the quarters dark with clouds and not the sound of anklets.

'Oh swan ! please give me my beloved ; you have stolen her gait.'

The cubical tips of the anklet resembling those of a balance beam as may be seen in early sculptures account for the term *talākoṭi*:

यस्मिन्नेषा पुरतः रज्जुस्ती मृद्वनत्तुलाकोटितुलामुपैति ॥

Śrīkaṇṭhacharita, f. 19.¹

The large size of the *mañjira* or the *aṅgura*, as we find in the sculptures, is repeated in the *Rāmāyaṇa* in the line:

भूतपाणि विचित्राणि दृष्टानि धरणीतले ।
यन्मयंदापविराजन्ति न्यनयन्ति महान्ति च ॥

Rāmāyaṇa, V. 15. 46.²

As we gather from the *Mṛichchhakatika* these anklets could be removed or worn at will:

यन्मया — (स्वयम्) नुदं गतिरं प्र । (नाट्येन नृपुराण्यन्तार्यं माल्यानि चापनीय
किञ्चित्परिवर्त्य हस्तेन परामुच्य ।)

Mṛichchhakatika, I.³

and this is confirmed in sculpture from Amarāvati where the *prasūdhikā* not only holds the foot according to the line of Kālidāsa:

प्रसाधितालम्बितमसपादमृच्छिष्य कानिद्वयरागमेव ।

Raghu., VII.⁴

but also presents the *aṅguras* in a tray to know the wish of her mistress to slip them on her feet shown without them but just receiving the paint of the *alaktaka*. The *yajñopavīta* mentioned in the *Kumārasambhava* as composed of pearls:

मृत्तायजोपवीतानि विभ्रतो ह्येवकल्पाः ।
रत्नाक्षमूत्राः प्रव्रज्यां कल्पवृक्षा उवाचिनाः ॥

Kumāra., VI. 6.⁵

can never be understood as a beautiful ornament that it is except by a look at different sculptures of Gupta and slightly earlier and later dates. In the latest phase of Amarāvati art, at Nāgārjunakona, in the paintings of Ajanta, in the earliest Western Chālukyan carvings, in the late Kushan and Gupta sculptures from Mathurā, Sarnāth, Deogarh, etc., we come across the most magnificent representations of the *muktā-yajñopavīta*. The *ajina-yajñopavīta* composed of deer-skin, which has been described by Kālidāsa in connection with the *yājñika* dress of Daśaratha:

अजिनदण्डभूतं कुचमेखलां यतगिरं मृगशृङ्गपरिग्रहाम् ।
अधिवसंस्तनुमध्वरदीक्षितामसमभासमभासयदीश्वरः ॥

Raghu., IX. 21.⁶

¹Whose crescent moon shining in front appears like a piece of her anklet broken (during the dance).'

²Wonderful ornaments large and resounding dropped only by her were seen on the ground.'

³Vasantasenā—(within herself) I have heard and acted accordingly (by gesticulation removes the anklets and the garlands, proceeds a bit and rubs with her hands).'

⁴Another (damsel) freeing her foot still wet with red paint from the hands of her toilet attendant that was holding it.'

⁵They practised asceticism, like the *kalpa* trees, (even though) wearing sacred thread composed of pearls and bark garment of gold and (carrying) prayer beads of gems.'

⁶Lord Śiva made him of unparalleled splendour shine by entering his body made ready for (the performance of) the sacrifice by wearing the deer skin, waist cord of *kuśa* grass, and holding the staff and the horn of the deer, and observing great restraint in speech.'

has a beautiful picture in a sculpture from Deogarh (fig. 11) and Sārnāth. *Vastra-yajñopavīta* which along with *ajina-yajñopavīta* is mentioned in the *Kṛishṇa-Yajurveda* as worn by a *śrotriya* :

अजिनं वासो वा दक्षिणत उपवीय दक्षिणं बाहुमुद्धरते¹

occurs very frequently in sculpture (fig. 12), the earliest being the Yakshas from Patna shown wearing it.

The *vaikukshaka* of gold called *hemavaikakshaka* :

विरचितकुचभारा हेमवैकक्ष्यकेन स्फुटविवृतनितम्बा वाससार्धोस्केण ।

विचरति चलयन्ती कामिनां चित्तमेपा किसलयमिव लोला चञ्चलं

वेशवल्ल्याः ॥

Pādatāḍitaka, 45.²

is another noteworthy ornament mostly worn by women and children and frequently represented in sculpture (fig. 7). A very pleasing subject in sculpture is the paraphernalia of toilet in addition to jewel boxes, *ābharāṇa-samudgakas*, of which the custodians



Fig. 11. *Ajinayajñopavīta*—
Gupta, 5th century A. D.,
Deogarh, Central India

were *prasādhikās* or attendant girls. The toilet requisites were kept in flat circular boxes and consisted of mirror with handle in different fascinating varieties, combs of different patterns, flower-pollen powder for the face and other unguents. These hand-mirrors are often referred to in literature as *vibhramadarpanas* :

प्रभानुलिप्तश्रीवत्सं लक्ष्मीविभ्रमदर्पणम् ।

कौस्तुभाख्यमपां सारं विभ्राणं बृहतोरसा ॥

Raghu., X. 10.³

The jewel for the turban, *mauli-mani*, sometimes decorated along with pearls arranged all over the turban and tucked usually in the centre but not infrequently on either side

¹ 'Wearing deer skin or cloth to the right and raising the right hand.'

² 'With her heavy breasts adorned with golden crossband and with her broad hips clearly displayed by the short dress reaching up to her thighs, she moves tremulously as it were like a tender shoot of the creeper of the abode of courtesans, agitating the hearts of lovers.'

³ Bearing on his large chest (a gem) the essence of the waters (of the ocean) called *kaustubha*, shedding its lustre on the *śrīvatsa* (mark), and serving as the sportive mirror of Lakshmi.'

towards one end, is one of the most lovely ornaments in early sculpture all over the land when the turban or the *ushnīsha* was almost the only headgear for men and the



Fig. 12. Vastrapajjnopavita—
Pallava, 8th century A. D.,
Kāveripākkam, South India

crown had not become very popular. Ornamented golden strips called *paṭṭabandhas* arranged on the turban are mentioned by Kālidāsa :

निर्वृत्तजाम्बूनक्ष्मदृशोभे
न्यस्तं ललाटे निम्नकं दधानः ।
तेनैव शून्यान्तरिगुन्दरीणां
मुक्तानि स स्मेरमुगञ्जकार ॥

Raghu., XVIII. 44,¹

and :

तेऽस्य मुक्तागुणोत्तमं मीनिमन्तर्गतम्बजम् ।
प्रत्यूषः पञ्चरागेण प्रभामण्डलशोभिना ॥

Raghu., XVII. 23.²

All these have excellent representations in sculpture. Specially the way in which the jewel is worn on the turban with the folds bound all around it is shown in one of the carvings from Bharhut.

XXIII. COURT-LIFE

To understand thoroughly the glorious description in literature of the rich life in royal palaces and of cultured men and women of wealth and position in ancient Indian cities, sculpture and painting help in no small measure, as a complete mirror of the life of the time is presented therein. To take first the king himself we can consider in him the *mahā-purushalakṣaṇas*. He is tall as a *sāla* tree and has long mighty arms :

सालप्राङ्गुर्महाभुजः

Raghu., I. 13.³

This is effectively indicated in sculpture specially in the case of one of the mightiest of the Gupta emperors by showing him as a tall and imposing personality with long and majestic arms, and a dwarf umbrella-bearer or *chhatradhara* holds the umbrella over his head suggesting his sovereignty and his eminence, the contrast in the size of both heightening

¹ 'Beautified with the turban decorated with golden strips and bearing the *tilaka* mark painted on his forehead that smile-faced prince made the faces of the beautiful damsels of his foes devoid of that very *tilaka*.'

² 'They stuck rubies resplendent with a halo of effulgence in his turban bound with pearl strands and tucked with flower garlands.'

³ 'Tall as a *sāla* tree and with mighty arms.'

this emphasis on the king's extraordinary majestic stature. The wish of the citizens of Ayodhyā to see their beloved prince Rāmachandra, always accustomed to riding a noble elephant with an umbrella held aloft protecting his face from the sun, to be settled on the lion-throne of Daśaratha :

इच्छामो हि महाबाहुं रघुवीरं महाबलम् ।
गजेन महता यान्तं रामं छत्रावृताननम् ॥

Rāmāyaṇa, II. 2.22.¹

gives us a picture of which both sculpture as from Amarāvātī and impression on coin as in the case of one of the issues of the Guptas presents an effective ocular parallel (pl. XXIV, 83). The *rājāṅka* or marks of royalty, the umbrella and the *chauris*, always accompanied the king and the prince whether in the state-chamber or palace-apartment or out on an elephant or in a palanquin. The palanquin, as a rectangular vehicle borne by bearers, has fine representation in Amarāvātī sculpture which closely follows the description of the *chaturaśrayāna-manuṣhya-vāhya* given in the *Raghuvamśa* :

मनुष्यवाह्यं चतुरश्रयानमध्यास्य कन्या परिवारशोभि ।

Raghu., VI. 10.²

And, as in this context, wherever this vehicle occurs, it is mostly preferred for women. The picture of the *hasṭipaka* or the mahout lazily lounging on the neck of the elephant as at Amarāvātī and in similar fashion in distant Barabudur and Prāmbanan has effective description in literature specially from the pen of Bāṇa. This is only matched by the old *dauvārika*, doorkeeper, dozing at the palace-gate in the representation at Barabudur. The description of the baggy shirts worn by the *kañchuki* into which the frightened *kubjās* and *vāmanas* could rush :

नष्टं वर्षवरैर्मनुष्यगणनाभावादपास्य त्रपा-
मन्तः कञ्चुकिकञ्चुकस्य विशति त्रासादयं वामनः ।
पर्यन्ताश्रयिभिर्निजस्य सदृशं नाम्नः किरातैः कृतं
कुब्जा नीचतयैव यान्ति शनकैरात्मेक्षणाशङ्किनः ॥

Ratnāvalī, II. 3.³

is clearly portrayed in sculpture from Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, Goli, Gummiḍidurru, Amarāvātī. A peculiar turban is an additional point to be marked in the case of the *kañchuki*. His extreme old age and the staff to support his drooping frame as given in the *Mudrārākshasa* is most effectively shown in one of the paintings from Ajanṭā.

Quaint representations of the *kubjās* in the retinue of princesses in the palace occur both in painting and in sculpture. In Amarāvātī there are fine representations of the *vāmanikā* arranging the *nūpura* on the feet of the queen, carrying her toilet box, and creating a funny situation in such a solemn scene as that of Udayana with drawn bow and Sāmāvātī replying his anger by love. A lovely picture of a *kubjā* as we get in the *Rāmāyaṇa* with due emphasis on the hump for which queen Kaikeyī had prepared a golden cover

¹ 'We desire Rāma, the long-armed, the hero among Raghus, of great might, going on a huge elephant with his face screened by an umbrella.'

² 'Seated in a rectangular palanquin borne by men and beautiful attendants (all around) the maiden....'

³ 'The eunuchs fled without any sense of shame as they were not to be counted among men, and this dwarf enters inside the shirt of the *kañchuki* out of fear, the *kirātas* scrambling all around did in accordance with the derivation of their name (i.e., scattered themselves), and the hunchbacks move slowly (their bodies) bent apprehending that they may be seen.'

and chain arranged on it as in the case of a monkey decked with straps of gold is presented in one of the scenes from *Amarāvati*, where Buddha visits the apartment of his noble wife Yaśodharā and the *kubjā* attendant bows to the master. The *kirāta*, also mentioned by Bāṇa along with the *kubjās* and *vāmanas* as in the royal retinue :

अश्वमन्तुरापरिभ्रष्टागतैस्वल्गुप्तभवनदाटिमीफनैराखण्डिताङ्गणसहकारपल्लवैरभिभूतकुञ्जवामन-
किरातकरतलाच्छिन्नानि भूषणानि विकिरिद्धः कपिभिराकुञ्चीकृतेन . . . अङ्गणेन . . . समुपेताभ्यन्तरराजकुलं

Kādambarī, p. 91¹

has representations in sculpture with all his equipment of nets, *jāla* and *vāgurā*. The beautiful *pratīhārī* is an amazon with a huge sword hanging by a strap from her left hip with an arresting personal charm and awe-inspiring personality as we find in sculpture from Nāgārjunakonda, Amarāvati, etc., forming an excellent visual commentary on the description of Bāṇa, where she is likened to a sandal-creeper entwined by snake, sweet but unapproachable :

अङ्गनाजनविकृतेन वागपाश्वक्लिम्बिता कीक्षेयकेन गंनिहितविषधरेव चन्दननता भीषण-
रमणीवाकृतिः . . . प्रतीहारी

Kādambarī, p. 8.²

She is to be distinguished from the sword-bearer known as *khaḍgavāhinī*, a female personal attendant of the king mentioned by Bāṇa in his *Kādambarī* :

तत्र च गयननलनिषण्णः क्षितितलोपविष्टया शनैः शनैस्तङ्गनिहितामिलनया खङ्ग-
वाहिन्या नवनन्निदलकोमलेन करगुप्तेन संवाह्यमानचरणः

Kādambarī, p. 17.³

The bearer of the cornucopia often occurring in sculpture of the early centuries of the Christian era is another royal attendant. Similar decorated horn is referred to in the *Rāmāyaṇa* as *ṛishabhaśṛiṅga* or bovine horn :

युर्मदृषभशृङ्गैश्च कलगैश्चापि काञ्चनैः ।

Rāmāyaṇa, IV. 26. 33.⁴

The lady carrying cornucopia often occurs on the reverse of many Gupta coins (pl. XXIV, 78). In this case the noose and the cornucopia in either hand of the goddess of royal prosperity, Rājyalakshmī, seated on lion, suggestive of the lion-throne, connotes the sense of her being the source of *kośa* and *daṇḍa*, treasure and power, acting as it were as a commentary on Kālidāsa's lines :

तस्यामेवास्य यामिन्यामन्तर्वत्नी प्रजावती ।

मुतावसूत संपत्नी कोशदण्डाविव क्षितिः ॥

Raghu., XV. 13.⁵

¹ 'The royal household . . with its inside . . having a courtyard . . made tumultuous by monkeys, escaped from the horse stables, that had plucked the pomegranates in the household (garden), torn the tender leaves of the mangoes in the open court and scattered jewels seized from the hands of hunchbacks, dwarfs, and hunters overcome by them.'

² 'The usher, with form so beautiful but awe-inspiring, and with a sword unbecoming of a woman hanging to her left, appearing like a sandal-creeper with snakes.'

³ 'There lying on a bed, with his legs shampooed by the hands of the sword-bearer, soft as fresh lotus-petals, as she sat slowly on the ground with the sword in her lap.'

⁴ 'With auspicious bovine horns and golden pitchers.'

⁵ 'That same night his sister-in-law who was carrying gave birth to two sons as Earth produces treasure and military force.'

The throne of State used by the king, *siṃhāsana*, richly ornamented with gold, silver, precious stones and ivory and spread with coverlets, of which a fine picture is presented in the *Raghuvaṃśa* by Kālidāsa :

ततः कक्षान्तरन्यस्तं गजदन्तासनं शुचि ।

सोत्तरच्छदमध्यास्त नेपथ्यग्रहणाय सः ॥

Raghu., XVII. 21¹

has excellent representation in sculpture, lions either standing or squatting supporting it on either side. The *mañcha* or *paryāṅka* often referred to in literature are other comfortable seats for ordinary use. The *vetrāsanas*, like the ones referred to in the *Dūtavākya*, are comfortable cane-seats or seats with a framework of wood and wicker-work with or without back and arms and with fine *makara*-decoration on the back. The *pādapiṭha* or the foot-rest has numerous examples in sculpture. Royal pleasure-boats with *kirātīs* as attendants for rowing them as mentioned in the *Raghuvaṃśa* :

परस्पराभ्युक्षणतत्पराणां तासां नृपो मज्जनरागदर्शी ।

नौसंश्रयः पार्श्वगतां किरातीमुपात्तवालव्यजनां वभाषे ॥

Raghu., XVI. 57²

in the context of *jalakrīḍā* of Kuśa are represented in sculpture of mediaeval date from Bhuvaneswar and Purī. Pleasure-chariots known as *pushparathas* are mentioned in literature and illustrated in early sculpture. The war-chariot, however, is neither so comfortable nor so cumbrous and has four horses yoked to it, has no canopy or awning and is open on one side. The better type of vehicles for ordinary use were the *pravahana*s drawn by fine pairs of bulls or horses to be distinguished from *grāmaśakaṭas* or country-carts, but even the better ones like the *pravahana* are described as making a creeking noise like an old pig as Śakāra describes it in the *Mṛichchhakaṭika* :

शकारः — (नेमिघोषमाकर्ण्य ।) भावे भावे आगदे पवहणे । (भाव भाव, आगतं

प्रवहनम् ।)

विटः — कथं जानासि ।

शकारः — किं न पेक्खदि भावे । वुड्डशूअले विअ घुलघुलाअमाणे लक्खअदि ।

(किं न पश्यति भावः । वृद्धशूकर इव घुरघुरायमाणं लक्ष्यते ।)

Mṛichchhakaṭika, VIII.³

The complete equipment for comfortable travel in the *pravahana* is mentioned in the *Mṛichchhakaṭika*, which refers to *yānāstarana* or soft carpets and *apavara* or screens and so forth :

चेटः — ही ही भो, मए वि जाणत्थलके विशुमलिदे । (ही ही भोः,

मयापि यानास्तरणं विस्मृतम् ।)

चन्दनकः — ओहरिओ पवहणो वच्चइ मज्जेण राअमग्गस्स । (अपवारितं

प्रवहणं व्रजति मध्येन राजमार्गस्य ।)

Mṛichchhakaṭika, VI.⁴

¹ 'Then getting dressed he sat on an ivory chair provided with coverlets in one of the inner apartments.'

² 'The king, from his boat, watching the interest of the damsels in water sport as they were engaged in drenching one another, spoke to the attendant woman close to him with a *chauri* in her hand.'

³ 'Śakāra—(hearing the sound of wheels) Bhāva, bhāva, the cart has arrived.

Viṭa—How do you know ?

Śakāra—Bhāva, Don't you see ? It appears to make a creeking sound like an old pig.'

⁴ 'Cheṭa—Oh dear ! I have forgotten the mattress for the cart.

Chandanaka—The cart goes screened just in the middle of the highway.'

The great taste and grandeur in all items of everyday life in such households is seen from the passage presenting the king's bath in the *Kādambarī* :

... विनयविनयितानामनेकवरणगणवध्वमानमण्डलां गन्धोदत्तपूर्णकनकमयजनद्रोणीमन्ताथमध्यामु
पुष्पावितरफटितस्नानपीठमैकान्तनिहिहिरातपमयाजीलकर्पटावगुण्ठितमुषैरिव स्नानकलशैर्यशोभितां स्नान-
भूमिमग्नरात् । चक्षुर्गन्धं जलद्रोणीं चारविनामिनीकरमुदिनगुग्गुलामलकोपनिपतिरगो राज्ञः
नमन्तात्ममानस्त्र्यंशकनिविधिवद्रज्जननपरिकरा दूरगमुत्तारिणवलयवाहुलताः समुत्क्षिप्तकर्णाभिरणाः
कप्योत्तङ्गोत्तान्निवाकता मृहीनजलकलसाः स्नानार्थमभिषेकदेवता इव चार्योपितः । ताभिश्च
नमन्तवकुलकुम्भमग्नदाभिर्वाग्निमध्वप्रविष्टः करिणीभिरिव वनकरी परिवृतस्नतक्षणं राजा रराज ।
जलद्रोणीमवितापुम्पाव च स्नानपीठममलरफटिकधवलं वरुण इव राजहंसमाग्नेह । ततस्ताः
काश्चिन्मलयजलमग्नभास्यामायमाना नलिन्य इव मृनिमलयः पद्मपुटैः, काश्चिद्रजतकलजहस्ता
रज्जन्य इव पुष्पचरमग्नविनिर्गतेन ज्योत्स्नाप्रवाहेण, काश्चिन्मलयोपध्वमध्वेच्छाद्रंशरीरा जल-
देवता इव मृदाटिकाः कल्योत्तीर्णजलेन, काश्चिन्मलयसन्नि इव चन्दनमिश्रेण मनिलेन,
काश्चिदुत्क्षिप्तकलसार्थवित्यस्तद्वत्पल्लवाः प्रकीर्णमाणनयमयुगचालकाः प्रत्यङ्गुनिविवरविनिर्गतजल-
धराः सज्जलचन्ददेवता इव, काश्चिज्जाल्यमपनेनुसाक्षिण्यवाद्यावपेनेव दिवगन्ध्रिय इव, कनककलश-
हस्ताः कुङ्कुमजलेन वाराङ्गनाः क्रमेण राजानमभिषिपितुः । यत्नन्तरमुष्पादि च स्फोटयन्निव
ध्रुविषममनेव प्रहलपद्मदक्षभङ्गरीमृदङ्गवेणवीणागीतगितदानुगम्यमानो वन्दिबृन्दकोनाहनाकुण्डो भुवनविवर-
व्याप्ती स्नानमहानामापूर्वमाणानामतिमुगरो ध्वनिः ।

Kādambarī, p. 16,¹

of which a close pictorial explanation as it were may easily be seen in a similar scene from *Ajantā* where a prince is bathed (pl. XVIII, 58). The dainty manner in which the man of taste took his food is described in the *Mricchhakatika*, where he is likened to a painter surrounded by a number of small vessels or shallow saucers, *mallaka* or *śarāva* :

मैत्रेयः — यो नामाहं नम्रभवनश्चाग्दस्य ऋद्ध्याहोरात्रं प्रयत्नसिद्धैरुद्धामसुरभि-
गन्धिभिर्नोत्तरेयागितोऽभ्यन्तरचतुःशानकद्वार उपविष्टो मल्लकजतपरिवृताश्चित्रकर इवाङ्गुलीभिः
स्पृष्टा स्पृष्टापनयामि ।

Mricchhakatika, 1.²

¹ He went to the place of bath provided with a large white canopy, surrounded by several bands of servants with a golden cistern in the centre filled with perfumed water and a crystal stool for taking bath and adorned by several water pitchers placed on one side with their mouths covered with dark cloth as if to avoid the sun's heat. When the king entered the water cistern with his head smeared with sweet smelling *amalaka* paste ground by courtesans all around him stood with water jars in their hands, like bathing goddesses, several attendant women, with their breasts tightly bound and garment tucked up above the thighs, their bangles pulled up on their creeper-like arms, the ear ornaments raised up and the ringlets of hair on the forehead tucked near the ear. The king as he was in the water surrounded by them with their elevated breasts like elephant temples appeared just like a wild elephant surrounded by cow-elephants. Rising from the water cistern he sat on the bathing stool of crystal immaculately white like Varuna on a white swan. Then in succession several courtesans bathed the king, some darkened by the hue of their emerald jars and appearing like personified lotus ponds with lotus leaves, some holding silver jars in their hands like nights with a flood of moonlight (flowing) from the full lunar disc, some with pure water in crystal jars like water nymphs, their bodies wet with sweat by the fatigue in carrying the pitchers, some like sandal streams with water having sandal paste dissolved in it, some like mechanical water dolls with water jets issuing from the interspace between every finger as the nails shot forth bright rays while their creeper-like arms entwined the sides of pitchers lifted up by them, some with saffron water from golden pitchers in their hands and appearing like solar beauties with (a stream of) ruddy sunlight to remove drowsiness. Then arose deafening the ears and piercing the quarters the shrill sound of the conches blown at the bathing hour, enhanced by the din of the song of a band of bards and accompanied by the sound of several large kettle-drums, rattle-drums, drums, flutes and lutes accompanied by song.

² 'Maitreya—I, who used to push aside after just touching with my fingers from the several small saucers all around me, as in the case of a painter, in the inner apartments, being fed night and day only on sweets, with fine flavour, prepared with care, on account of the opulence of noble Chārudatta.'

A pictorial representation of this is found in a Rajput painting of the Pahārī school depicting a painter. Even a *pātrāsana* is shown in Amarāvati sculpture. The *pātrāsana* mentioned in *śrāddha* and in the place of which *darbhā* grass is substituted today, just as in the case of *darbhāsana* or *vetrāsana*, is to be understood only with the help of sculpture (pl. XVIII, 59). This *pātrāsana* is a small circular table of wickerwork on which the plate and dishes containing food are laid. It is usually held that eating from a table is a fashion introduced in India from the west, but these early sculptures show that this custom is purely indigenous, and usage also points to the same, as the survivals of practice in *śrāddha* point clearly to this. We should here remember that there are other things similar to this which we consider introduced from the west but are actually our own. The modern custom of shaking hands suggests European association. It is only when we read the *Vikramorvaśīya*, where Vikrama shakes hands with Chitraratha, we know the custom to be our own from time immemorial :

राजा — अये गन्धर्वराज ! (रथादवतीर्य) स्वागतं प्रियमुद्दे । (परस्परं हस्ती स्पृशतः ।)

Vikramorvaśīya, I.¹

This gesture of friendship and friendly salute may be observed in the *Rāmāyaṇa* :

रोचते यदि वा सख्यं बाहुरेप प्रसारितः ।
गृह्यतां पाणिना पाणिर्मर्यादा बध्यतां ध्रुवा ॥

Rāmāyaṇa, V. 5. 12.²

and a mural from Cochin (pl. XVIII, 60) presents vividly how Rāma and Sugrīva shook hands in friendship. Similarly we may think that flower-vases are a modern decorative element for which Europeans are responsible, but when we see the *pūrṇaghaṭas* with lovely lotuses placed on them in all varieties of bud and bloom and similarly small flower-vases often occurring among the panels at Barabudur in distant Java, we can understand that the idea of flower-vase is as much indigenous as any other and needs no introduction.

The picture of a mansion typical of a wealthy person given in the *Mṛichchhakaṭika* in the context of the description of Vasantasenā's residence containing eight courtyards is sufficiently gorgeous to impress on ones mind the grandeur of ancient Indian households :

विदूषकः — (अवलोक्य सविस्मयम् ।) अहो सलिलसिक्तमार्जितकृतहरितोपलेपनस्य विविधसुगन्धिकुसुमोपहारचित्रलिखितभूमिभागस्य गगनतलावलोकनकौतूहलदूरोन्नामितशीर्षस्य दोलायमानालम्बितैरावणहस्तभ्रमागतमल्लिकादामगुणालङ्कृतस्य समुच्छिन्नदन्तिदन्ततोरणावभासितस्य महारत्नोपरागशोभिना पवनवलान्दोलनाललच्चञ्चलाग्रहस्नेन 'इत एहि' इति व्याहरतेव मां सौभाग्यपताकानिवहेनोपशोभितस्य तोरणधरणस्तम्भवेदिकानिक्षिप्तसमुल्लसद्वरितचूतपल्लवललामस्फटिकमङ्गलकलशाभिरामोभयपार्श्वस्य महासुरवक्षःस्थलदुर्भेद्यवज्रनिरन्तरप्रतिबद्धकनकपाटस्य दुर्गतजनमनोरथायासकरस्य वसन्तसेनाभवनद्वारस्य सश्रीकता । यत्सत्यं मध्यस्थस्यापि जनस्य बलादृष्टिमाकारयति ।

¹ 'King—Oh ! it is the Gandharva king ! (descends from his car) welcome friend (both shake hands).'

² 'If you desire my friendship here I hold out my hand to you. Hold my hand in yours and let the everlasting bond (of friendship) be created.'

The different *kakshyās* described in detail in the Ayodhyākāṇḍa of the *Rāmāyaṇa* in the case of Rāma's palace also present a magnificent picture :

रामवेश्म सुमन्त्रस्तु शक्रवेश्मसमप्रभम् ।
 महाकवाटसंयुक्तं वितदिशतशोभितम् ॥
 काञ्चनप्रतिमैकाग्रं मणिविद्रुमतोरणम् ।
 शारदाभ्रघनप्रख्यं दीप्तं मेरुगृहोपमम् ॥
 मणिभिर्वरमाल्यानां सुमहद्भिरलङ्कितम् ।
 मुक्तामणिभिराकीर्णं चन्दनागुरुधूपितम् ॥
 गन्धान्मनोज्ञान्विसृजद्दार्दुरं शिखरं यथा ।
 सारसैश्च मयूरैश्च निनदद्भिराजितम् ॥
 सुकृतेहामृगाकीर्णं सुकीर्णं भित्तिभिस्तथा ।
 मनश्चक्षुश्च भूतानामाददत्तिगतेजसा ॥
 चन्द्रभास्करसंकाशं कुबेरभवनोपमम् ।
 महेन्द्रधामप्रतिमं नानापक्षिसमाकुलम् ॥
 मेरुशृङ्गसमं सूतो रामवेश्म ददर्श ह ।
 उपस्थितैः समाकीर्णं जनैरञ्जलिकारिभिः ॥
 उपादाय समाक्रान्तैस्तथा जानपदैर्जनैः ।
 रामाभिषेकसुमुखैरुन्मुखैः समलङ्कितम् ॥
 महामेघसमप्रख्यमुदग्रं सुविभूषितम् ।
 नानारत्नसमाकीर्णं कुब्जकैरातकावृतम् ॥
 स वाजियुक्तेन रथेन सारथिर्नराकुलं राजकुलं विलोकयन् ।
 वरूथिना रामगृहाभिपातिना पुरस्य सर्वस्य मनांसि रञ्जयन् ॥
 ततः समासाद्य महाधनं महत्प्रहृष्टरोमा स बभूव सारथिः ।
 मृगैर्मयूरैश्च समाकुलोल्बणं गृहं वरार्हस्य शचीपतेरिव ॥
 स तत्र कैलासनिभाः स्वलङ्कृताः प्रविश्य कक्ष्यास्त्रिदशालयोपमाः ।
 प्रियान्नरान् राममते स्थितान्वहनपौह्य शुद्धान्तमुपस्थितो रथी ॥

Rāmāyaṇa, II. 15. 31-43.¹

In sculpture mansions are equally well-represented. The buildings are multi-storied, the pillars are of varied workmanship, the screen windows most gorgeous, the balustrades with a variety of pattern, the decorative motifs numerous, the doorways varying in size and

¹ 'Sumantra, the charioteer saw, Rāma's palace shining like Indra's mansion, with large doors, several platforms, all of gold so high, with arched gateway of gem and coral, (white) like the autumnal cloud, lit up like Mount Meru, decorated with large gems and flower garlands, scattered with pearls and perfumed with *aguru* and sandal, spreading excellent perfume like the crest of the Dardura mountain, picturesque with the sound of *sūras* (cranes) and peacocks, studded with well-fashioned fancy animal motifs, with decorated wall space attracting both the mind and the eye of people by its great effulgence, bright like the sun and moon and resembling Kubera's mansion and Mahendra's, full of diverse birds and like Mount Meru, with several attendants scattered about with their hands joined in adoration, and being filled with people from rural areas come with presents appearing as if adorned by their beaming faces on account of Rāma's coronation that they were expecting (to witness), exceedingly high like a large cloud and embellished with different gems studded everywhere and filled all over with hunchbacks and hunters. That charioteer saw from his chariot drawn by horses the royal palace filled with men and gladdened the hearts of all in the city by his car that made for Rāma's mansion. Having reached the opulent great mansion of that noble one like that of the lord of Sāchī (i.e., Indra) tumultuous with deer and peacocks he was horripolated with joy. The charioteer entered there several well decorated courts (high) like the Kailāsa mountain and the mansions of gods, and passing by several amiable men obedient to Rāma he reached the innermost apartment.'

and suggestions. To take a single famous example in a coping fragment from Amarāvati representing the ceremonies connected with Buddha's funeral at Kuśinagara, the city of the Mallas: the music and dance that formed part of it is so cleverly portrayed that though the scene has no label to suggest the theme depicted as at Bharhut or elsewhere the *sthāna* or pose of one of the danseuses shows her in *ālīḍha*, the warrior-pose suggestive of *malla*, and thereby suggesting the city of the *mallas* where Buddha passed away. It is by a reference to Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra* that the significance of this *karāṇa* is learnt and the utility of *nāṭya* and its scope in *chitra* is thus made very clear. Śiva as the Lord of dance has been represented in different *sthānas* like the *chatura*, *lalita*, *lalāṭatilaka*, *kaṭisama*, *ālīḍha*, *bhujāṅga*, *rāsitaka*, *kuñchita*, *ūrdhva*, *jānu* and so forth. Nandikeśvara, the author of the *Abhinayadarpaṇa* and one of the presiding deities over music and dance, is often shown dancing in the company of Śiva or playing the drum. It is in connection with the glorious *sandhyānṛtta* of Śiva that the *nāṭyasabhā* or *nāṭyamaṇḍapa* is made a special feature to receive the bronze image of Naṭarāja, a feature in every South Indian temple. It is in this context that the different *karāṇas* are introduced as integral parts of the grand science of dance of which the highest exponent is Śiva himself. It is with similar import we find all the *karāṇas* and *aṅga* *hāras* exquisitely portrayed in panels that decorate the base of the Śiva temple at Prāmbanan in Java. Sarasvatī as the presiding deity over fine arts which includes dance is represented in fine dance modes in many a sculpture from the Hoysala temples in Mysore.



Fig. 13. Dancer from painting in Sittannavāsāl cave-temple—Pallava, 7th century A. D.

But dance as a pleasing pattern of movement of limbs expressive of a language in itself does not stop with any deity or a creed. Dance-expression is found very often as a theme in all sculptures without reference to any compartmentalism born of any religion. The birth of any distinguished personality like Buddha, Kṛishṇa or Rāma is always attended by a shower of flowers and the dance of celestial nymphs in rejoicing. Every great event is celebrated by a flow of music and dance. The *chūḍāmaha* or the festival of the adoration of Buddha's turban is depicted with dance and music in Indrasabhā in Bharhut sculpture. Dance and music attend the funeral celebration of Buddha at Kuśinagara. General rejoicing is suggested by dance and music. Among the most marvellous carvings from Mount Abu are many dance-figures. The dancing Apsaras painted on the pillars at Sittannavāsāl in the Jain cave (fig. 13) are probably the loveliest of their kind among the paintings of India and rank equally with the *hallīsaka* dance-group represented at Bāgh. No greater tribute to *nāṭya* has been paid than that by Kālidāsa, who says that

this is the most pleasant ocular sacrifice for the gods which in many ways pleases alike people of different taste :

देवानामिदमागमनं नृणः कृतं कृतं चाक्षुषं
रद्रेणेदमुमाकृतमनिकरे स्वाङ्गे विभक्तं दिधा ।
देवयोद्धमस्य योऽनन्ति नानान्तं दृश्यते
नादयं भिन्नमेवंमय बहुधाप्येकं समाराधनम् ॥

Mālarikāgnimitra, I. 4¹

In the *Mālarikāgnimitra* the requisite form of a dancer is beautifully given in the line :

वीर्यं सर्गन्दरानि यत्नं वाक् नवायंगयोः
सहितं निविनेतरानमृतं पार्श्वे प्रमुष्टे ह्य ।
मया पानिनिर्देशमस्त्य ज्ञानं पादावराताङ्गनी
तयो नवीकृत्यंय मनसि शिष्टं यथास्या वपुः ॥

Mālarikāgnimitra, II. 3,²

and this standard of perfection in form required for dance may be seen in a carving from Ellora (pl. XIX, 61). A pose after dance and a graceful pose in which the dancer stands with one hand on the hip and another dangling on one side and with the feet toying with a flower petal on the ground is, in the opinion of King Agnimitra, even more charming than a dance movement itself :

यत्नं सन्निर्दिष्टमस्त्यं मय हस्तं निगम्ये
हस्तं यथापिद्यनदनं यस्तमुत्तं द्वितीयम् ।
पादाङ्गान्निवृत्तमुने कुट्टिमे पानिनाथं
नृणादस्या स्थितमस्तिनं कानामृतायनाथम् ॥

Mālarikāgnimitra, II. 6.³

This has beautiful sculptural representation in the pose of the Bhūtesar Yakshī listening to the parrot, and one cannot fail to see that the sculptor who did this was having the verse describing this lovely posture in his mind when he was fashioning it. In this context of dance there are two pictures presented by Kālidāsa of danseuses dancing before Śiva at the time of evening worship in the holy temple of Mahākāla :

पादन्यासः क्यविवरनान्मय वीलायधृतः
स्तनच्छायावनिवन्निभश्चामरः कलान्तहस्ताः ।
वेश्यान्वन्ता नयनदनुताम्राप्य वपशिविन्दून्
ग्रामोदयने त्ययि मधुकरश्रेणिदीर्घान्किटाक्षान् ॥

Megha, I. 35,⁴

¹ 'Sages consider this a pleasant ocular offering for the gods; this has been split into two phases by Rudra in his own body intermingled with Umā; in this are seen represented every act in the world arising from the three-fold natural dispositions and suggestive of different moods; dance alone in different ways is the one thing that pleases people of varying taste.'

² 'Eyes long, face beautiful like the autumnal moon, arms drooping, shoulders narrow, breasts close and elevated, the sides appearing kneaded, the waist just the measure of the palm, the hips huge, feet with bent toes, the body of this damsel is fashioned just as a dancer could wish it to be.'

³ 'With her left hand on her waist the bracelets resting on her wrist, the other arm hanging at ease like the branch of the *Ayāmā* creeper, casting her glances on the floor with the flowers on it gently rubbed with her toe, with her body drawn erect to her full height, she looks more beautiful in her standing pose than even in her dance.'

⁴ 'With their hands fatigued by the gentle waving of *chauries*, the handles covered with the hue of the gems (of their bracelets), their waist zone resounding to their dance steps, the courtesans, experiencing from you rain drops so pleasant for their nail-marks (wounds), will cast at you side-long glances long (and dark) like a row of bees.'

and Siva himself starting his dance with his form encircled by his numerous hands, a veritable forest of arms as it were against a background of elephant hide, as Bhavānī looks at him with eyes filled with wonder (pl. XIX, 62) :

पश्चादुच्चैर्भुजतरुवनं मण्डलेनाभिलीनः
सान्ध्यं तेजः प्रतिनवजपापुष्परक्तं दधानः ।
नृत्यारम्भे हर पशुपतेरार्द्रनागाजिनेच्छां
शान्तोद्वेगस्तिमितनयनं दृष्टभक्तिर्भवान्या ॥

Megha., I. 36.¹

In painting and sculpture this is more than vividly represented as in the Chōla painting from the Brihadiśvara temple at Tanjore depicting the dancers in the presence of Siva dancing to the accompaniment of music (pl. XIX, 63) and in the numerous sculptures showing Siva's dance in the *chatura* and *lalita* pose at Elephanta, Ellora, from Central India, Uttar Pradesh, Orissa and Bengal. Some of the loveliest dance-figures come from Barabudur where in the court of the celestials and the mortals celebration of any event is marked by dance, and the *karanas* and the *aṅgahāras* as represented here are worthy of special study as all the *hastas*, both *saṃyuta* and *asaṃyuta*, occur here exactly answering the description in Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra*. *Nāṭya* was such a popular pastime that many princesses and cultured women were adept in it, and we often hear of *avarodhasaṅgītakas* or musical or dance recital in the harem. Agnivarṇa played the *mṛidāṅga* in the presence of the dance-masters and by watching for a stray false step of the dancers in the harem he put them to shame :

स स्वयं प्रहृतपुष्करः कृती लोलमात्यवलयो हरन्मनः ।
नर्तकीरभिनयातिलङ्घिनीः पार्श्ववर्तिषु गुरुष्वलज्जयत् ॥

Raghu., XIX. 14.²

Prince Naravāhanadatta, the son of Udayana, played the tabor as his consort danced :

नरवाहनदत्तः स ह्येपयन्वरचारणान् ।
तस्यां प्रियायां नृत्यन्त्यां सर्वातोद्यान्यवादयत् ॥

Kathāsaritsāgara, VI. 8. 171.³

A beautiful picture of a pair, a *mithuna*, one playing a musical instrument and another dancing to the tune is to be found in the Kinnara couple from Ajaṇṭā, the Kinnara sounding the cymbals and the Kinnarī dancing with graceful movement. The *nepathya* or the dress of the dancer should be, according to Kālidāsa's description in the *Mālavikāgnimitra*, just enough to cover the body without obscuring its lovely contours :

परित्राजिका—निर्णयाधिकारे ब्रवीमि, सर्वाङ्गसौष्ठवाभिव्यक्तये विगतनेपथ्ययोः पात्रयोः

प्रवेशोऽस्तु ।

Mālavikāgnimitra, I.⁴

¹ 'Then when Paśupati commences his dance please surround his forest of long arms assuming the glow of sunset red like the fresh *japā* flower, and as your devotion (to Siva) is witnessed by Bhavānī with eyes steadfast and without any fear, you may satisfy Siva's desire for the fresh hide of the elephant.'

² 'Himself an expert he played the drum, his garlands and bracelets swaying, and caused embarrassment to the danseuses when there was any slip in their dance movement in the presence of the dance-masters.'

³ 'Naravāhanadatta, putting to shame the best musicians, played all the musical instruments, as his beloved one danced.'

⁴ 'Female ascetic—I speak as judge. For revealing all the fine features of the body let both the danseuses enter without elaborate dress.'

Sarasvatī, which suggests very early date for the figure. The lyre-type of coin of Samudragupta, showing the emperor seated on couch and playing the harp-shaped *vīṇā*, is a sculptural commentary on the lines describing his great proficiency in music in the famous Allāhabād inscription, and both in their turn are true mirrors of the glory of music in his day. It is from sculpture again that we understand the exact connotation of the types of *mṛdaṅgas* described by Bharata, *aṅkya*, *ālīṅgya* and *ūrdhvaka*, all three of which are clearly represented in carvings from Amarāvati and elsewhere (fig. 14). The *ūrdhvaka* is appropriately shown with its single mouth upwards, the *aṅkya* shown lying across on its back

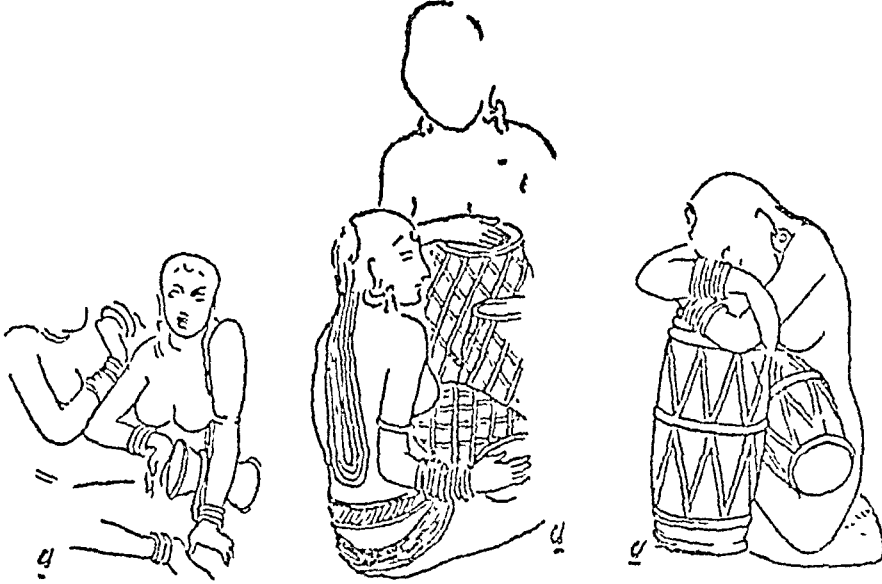


Fig. 14. *Aṅkya*, *ālīṅgya* and *ūrdhvaka* drums from Amarāvati—Sātavāhana, 2nd century A.D., Madras Government Museum, Madras

with both the sides available for playing, the *ālīṅgya*, a rather small one, actually almost nestling in ones arms. The *koṇas* or drum-sticks often mentioned in literature can actually be seen and understood only from representations in sculpture. The *bherī*, *paṭaha* and *ḍhakkā* are all represented graphically in carvings. The *kāṁsyatāla* or cymbals are often shown as in the painting of the Apsarases at Ajanṭā. Musical instruments of the *sushīra* type like the flute are also similarly represented. High proficiency in playing the flute on the part of women may be observed from sculpture. The time scale was connoted as much by the tapping of hands as by the drum and the sounding of the cymbals. This was very popular and there are many early sculptures representing it. In fact in the early centuries of the Christian era *karatāla* was more popular than *kāṁsyatāla*. The glory of *ambumṛdaṅga*, a musical instrument, now having a precarious existence in South India under the name *jalataraṅga* but mentioned as *ambumṛdaṅga* in a mediaeval inscription :

पायाद्वः परिवर्तमानलहरीप्राग्भारमास्फालय-
न्सायङ्कालतरङ्गकेलिषु करास्कन्देन मन्दाकिनीम् ।
देवस्यारभटीपरिभ्रमकलासंरम्भसम्भाविनः
शम्भोरम्बुमृदङ्गवाद्यरचनारम्भाय लम्बोदरः ॥

Epigraphia Indica, V, p. 142¹

¹ 'May Lambodara (Gaṇeśa) protect you, who in his evening sports of patting the waves of the river Mandākinī (Gaṅgā) strikes the surface of the rolling waves for responding to the movements of the artistic ārabhaṭī dance of the Lord Sambhu by starting the sound of the water drum (*jalataraṅga*).'

can be best understood together with its antiquity and once tremendous popularity by calling to our mind the *gambang* of the Javanese which is in all essentials the *jalataranga*, and probably the earlier *ambumṛidaṅga* comes even closer to *gambang*. The musical moods are expressed vividly as much by pictorial representation as by soft enchanting notes vocal and instrumental.

XXVI. LION AND ELEPHANT

A motif often occurring in sculpture associated with architecture and furniture is the lion and elephant. This is sometimes styled *gaja-simha* and *gaja-vyāla* or *gaja-vidāla* (pl. XX, 65). This motif is a great favourite in mediaeval sculpture particularly in north eastern India. Even in distant Java this motif occurs on the throne of Buddha in Chaṇḍi Mendut. The idea here is that the lion, the king of the beasts, delights only in attacking by springing on the temples of an elephant the most formidable amongst them all, and the *kavisamaya* or the convention among poets is that from the torn temples of the animals rare pearls are scattered :

तान्हुत्वा गजकुलवद्धतीव्रवैरान्
काकुत्स्थः कुटिलनखाग्रलग्नमुक्तान् ।
आत्मानं रणकृतकर्मणां गजाना-
मानृत्यं गतमिव मार्गणैरमंस्त ॥

Raghu., IX, 65.¹

This idea has been beautifully utilised as a motif in architecture. Even in the case of furniture the motif occurs as in the case of the back of a seat or throne flanking it on either side immediately below the top rod. In late Gupta and Pāla sculpture this occurs quite often. Sometimes it occurs as a caryatid.

XXVII. GARUDA AND NĀGA

Closely allied to this is the motif of the Garuḍa and Nāga, the former swooping down on the latter and carrying it away. No one who has studied the *Nāgānanda* can forget the scene of Garuḍa carrying away prince Jīmūtavāhana with his powerful claws. This gives us the aspect of the Nāga represented in anthropomorphic form in which actually a Nāga prince Śaṅkhacaṇḍa is described and which is supported by statement in literature and delineation in sculpture. Examples of this are numerous, specially in Gandhāra sculpture where Garuḍa is a bird and the Nāga or Nāgī human. In Mathurā sculpture of the Kushan period Garuḍa is shown as a bird carrying Nāga represented as snake. Here it is in accordance with a tradition followed in the description in the *Rāmāyaṇa* where Hanumān flying in the sky over the ocean with his tail swinging to and fro suggests the picture of the huge bird Garuḍa carrying a snake. At Amarāvati both theriomorphic and anthropomorphic representations occur. In the case of motifs like this emphasis is placed on the natural enmity between two animals which form also excellent theme for literary description. Just as in the *mithuna* it is the love and attraction of the pairs that forms the theme of so much that is charming in literature and art, similarly here it is enmity and repugnance that determines the theme.

¹ 'Having killed them that were deadly enemies of the race of elephants and that had pearls sticking to their curved claws, that descendent of Kakutstha considered that he had paid off with his arrows the debt he owed elephants which had helped him in battles.'

XXVIII. FIGHTING ELEPHANTS

Somewhat allied to this but only emphasising the fight between equals well matched *tulyabala* is the theme of the fighting elephants, a great favourite in mediaeval sculpture from Gujarāt. Whether it is *vaprakrīḍā* or the butting of two elephants as described in the *Raghuvaṃśa* :

विक्रमव्यतिहारेण सामान्याभूद्वयोरपि ।
जयश्रीरन्तरा वेदिर्मत्तवारणयोरिव ॥

Raghu., XII. 93¹

it is always a question of showing might equally matched. This equally matched fight was a great favourite and some of the masterpieces of painting during the Moghul period represent similar elephant fights, camel fights, lion fights and so forth. These are well matched conflicts on a high and noble level. The *urabhrasampāta* or the fight of rams and cocks which are mentioned by the Vidūshaka in the *veśavāta* in the *Mṛichchhakatika* are of a lower type. Combats like this have always pleased the somewhat cruder and more primitive instincts in man and the mediaeval period is full of different well-matched combats between animals and men. The theme of the fight of *mallas* has an early representation in Gandhāra sculpture, and in any number of later ones it occurs as a regular motif, one of the mediaeval ones representing Muṣṭika and Chāṇūra fighting Kṛishṇa and Balarāma in a panel of great interest from Pāhārpūr. In this however, it was always an element of chivalry and manliness and a noble sentiment born of birth and training of a superior order that called in for such a phase of elevated human character. And it is this that provides us the noble ideals of righteous warfare or *dharmayuddha* in which the charioteer fights only one in a chariot, a cavalier only another horsemen, a warrior on an elephant only another similarly placed, and a foot-soldier his equal.

पत्तिः पदार्ति रथिनं रथेशस्तुरङ्गसादी तुरगाधिखुडम् ।
यन्ता गजस्याभ्यपतद्गजस्थं तुल्यप्रतिद्वन्दि बभूव युद्धम् ॥

Raghu., VII. 37.²

In inscriptions which record the glory of the kings and emperors who were mainly engaged in these conflicts not for territory so much as for glory is a spirit of *dharmavijaya*, the conqueror not wresting but returning sometimes with additions kingdoms won from defeated sovereigns, there is a similar description of righteous warfare and a passage from the Kūram grant of the Pallava king Parameśvaravarman is one of the most graphic descriptions of battle-scene in epigraphical literature and echoes the description of Kālidāsa :

अगणितनरहयकरिकुलविमर्द्दजनितेन रेणुतुहिनेन ।
आरोपितशशिमण्डलसादृश्यसहस्रकरविम्बे ॥
पटहरवगर्जितोग्रे विकोशनिस्त्रिशविद्युदाभोगे ।
प्रचरितकुञ्जरजलदे विकालवर्षवितार इव ॥
तुङ्गतुरङ्गतुरङ्गे प्रचरत्करिमकरजनितविपमावर्त्ते ।
अविरलमुदीर्णशङ्खे विजृम्भमाणे समुद्र इव ।

¹ 'Like a wall between the pair of elephants in rut, the goddess of Victory was common to both by the fluctuation of might.'

² 'The foot-soldier attacked a foot-soldier, the chariot-soldier one in a chariot, the cavalryman one mounted on horse, the soldier on elephant another on elephant ; equally matched in the opponents there was the battle.'

अन्योन्यसदृशगणनपरिभवनिर्यातिना . . .
 मृगमदमिश्रितशोणितकुङ्कुमघनलिप्यमानभूमितले
 अन्योन्यजयपराजयसंदेहप्रेखलग्नलक्ष्मीविहिते
 शस्त्रोद्यतभुजदण्डैः सारम्भविलोहिताक्षदण्डोष्ठपुटैः
 रुधिरमधुपानमत्तप्रगीतकूष्माण्डराक्षसपिशाचे
 दत्तलयतुल्यकालप्रतिभयनीनृत्यत्कवन्धशत्रुयोनी

South Indian Inscriptions, I, p. 148.¹

This word-picture is best understood by us by a sculptural representation of the ideals of righteous warfare in India so meticulously followed and particularly insisted on by the great and chivalrous warrior class of India of which we cannot but be sufficiently proud in these days of war-torn tragic life. This sculpture is from a coping piece from the Amarā-

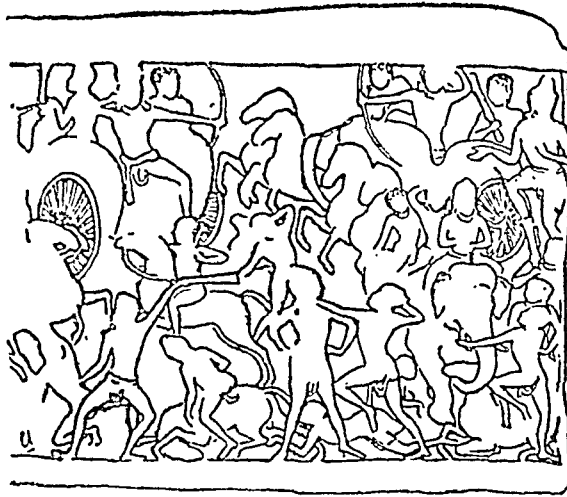


FIG. 15. *Dharmayuddha*, righteous warfare from Amarāvati
 rail-coping—Sātavāhana, 2nd century A.D., Madras
 Government Museum, Madras

vatī rail (fig. 15 and pl. XXII, 72), showing the charioteer fighting the charioteer, the cavalier a horseman, the foot-soldier another of his rank and one on an elephant a similar warrior, and this orderliness in disorder on the battle-field makes the scene all the more instructive and appealing.

XXIX. ROYAL HUNTER

The king's hunt is another theme graphically described in literature and portrayed with great skill in sculpture, the one acting as a commentary on the other. The description of Chandrāpīḍa going a hunting as given in the *Kādambarī* and that of Daśaratha in the *Raghuvamśa* are splendid examples of the king in a chase. It is this very impressive

¹ 'When the disc of the thousand-rayed sun was led to assume the appearance of the lunar disc by the mist of dust raised by the stampede of countless troops of soldiers, horses and elephants; like an untimely downpour terrible with the noise of thunder in the sound of drums, with lightning flashes in the unsheathed swords, with clouds in the marching elephants; with large billows in horses, and whirlpools caused by the moving whale-like elephants, the conch sounding all the time and the din rising as in an ocean; considering one another as equal or unpraiseworthy.....; with the ground smeared thick with saffron as it were by the blood mixed with musk; in which the goddess of Victory was made to dangle as it were in a doubt regarding success or defeat of the one or the other; with raised club-like hands carrying weapons, with eyes blood-shot and lips bitten in frenzy; with Kūshmāṇḍas, Rākshasas and Piśāchas singing, intoxicated by draughts of bloody wine; with headless trunks of enemies fearfully dancing keeping time and in tune with it.'

theme that has given many varieties of Gupta coins. The king fighting the lions and thereby absolving himself of his debt of gratitude to the elephants forming such an important limb of his army and giving their very best in the numerous fights with enemy kings :

तान्हुत्वा गजकुलवद्धतीव्रवैरान्
काकुत्स्थः कुटिलनखाग्रलग्नमुक्तान् ।
आत्मानं रणकृतकर्मणां गजाना-
मानृष्य गतमिव मार्गणैरमस्त ॥

Raghu., IX. 65¹

is beautifully presented in the lion-slayer type of coins of Chandragupta and his successors. Another type which illustrates Kālidāsa's description of the king's fight with the rhinoceros :

प्रायो विपाणपरिमोक्षलघूत्तमाङ्गान्खङ्गाश्चकार नृपतिर्निशितैः क्षुरप्रैः ।

Raghu., IX. 62²

is represented by one of the newly discovered varieties of coins of the Gupta dynasty from the recent find of hoard from Bayānā, in which the king is represented as engaged in attacking the *khaḍgamṛiga* and the rough hide of the animal is cleverly depicted as also its horn on the snout (pl. XXIV, 82). The tiger and horseman type shows the king fighting the tiger from his seat on the horse. This represents the king as a regular cavalier huntsman and thus reminds us of the verse of the sweetest poet of Sanskrit literature :

मृगवनोपगमक्षमवेषभृद्विपुलकण्ठनिषक्तशरासनः ।
गगनमश्वखुरोद्धतरेणुभिर्नृसविता सवितानमिवाकरोत् ॥
ग्रथितमौलिरसौ वनमालया तरुपलाशसवर्णतनुच्छदः
तुरगवल्गनचञ्चलकुण्डलो विरुरुचे रुरुचेष्टितभूमिषु ॥

Raghu., IX. 50 and 51³

the ear-rings swinging with every movement of the horse. Almost the same depiction of the king carrying the bow worn round his neck is found in the horseman type of coin of Chandragupta II.

This motif of the huntsman on horseback, mostly attacking some fierce beast like a lion, tiger or boar with a retinue of hunters and dogs, is most beautifully represented on the pillars in the *maṇḍapas* of the temples erected by Vijayanagara and Nāyaka kings of South India. Famous examples come from the *kalyāṇa-maṇḍapa* of Vellore and Viriñchipuram, Śrīrangam and other places (pl. XX, 66). Here the graphic presentation of the theme of the hunter attacking the wild beast with all its ferocity is matched only by the

¹ 'Having killed them that were deadly enemies of the race of elephants and that had pearls sticking to their curved claws, that descendent of Kakutstha considered that he had paid off with his arrows the debt he owed elephants which had helped him in battles.'

² 'With his sharp cutting arrows the king made the rhinoceroses feel their heads lighter by the removal of their horns.'

³ 'That sun among men, dressed in clothes appropriate for the game forest and with the bow hung from his large neck provided the sky with a canopy (as it were) by the dust raised by the hoofs of his horse. With a turban composed of a garland of wild flowers, and dress green like the leaves of the (forest) trees, his ear-ornaments swaying with the movement of his horse, he roamed in the haunts of the stag.'

utmost attention shown to detail—every ornament and dress with elaborate patterns meticulously worked and all accoutrement and equipment carefully shown, even the chains for the reins being very carefully chiselled in stone so as to allow their movement by handling. The prancing horse rearing up with its rider, the thrust of the javelin, the wounded beast fighting with a rare ferocity—are all an excellent presentation of a great popular theme.

XXX. UDAREMUKHA

In the *Rāmāyaṇa* there is a graphic picture given of a quaint demon named Kabandha, and Vālmiki describes him as having a face on his stomach :

कवन्धमुदरेमुखम्

Rāmāyaṇa, IV. ¹

According to the epic he is all trunk and no body or head, the trunk itself combining the face. It is indeed very difficult to picture to one's mind a fantastic figure like this and surely any sculpture, if available, should aid in understanding such a form. Luckily, there are numerous representations of the *kabandha* type right from the early centuries of the Christian era, and the motif, being a very popular one among artists for the sheer phantasy of conception, has been found all over the land from one end to the other (fig. 16). It has not stopped with its circuit in India but has travelled beyond, and in distant Java, where the story of the *Rāmāyaṇa* is narrated in the exquisite panels of the Śiva temple



FIG. 16. *Udaremulukha* motif from Amarāvati, Ghaṇṭasālā, Ajaṇṭā, Bādāmī and Prāmbanan

at Prāmbanan, the incident of *kabandha* gives the demon the same fantastic form with the face on the stomach in addition to the one on the shoulders as it occurs in the mainland in different places like Amarāvati, Ghaṇṭasālā, Ajaṇṭā and Sārnāth in the case of some dwarfs amongst the hosts of Māra attacking Buddha under the *bodhi* tree, and as in the early Western Chālukyan caves of Bādāmī or the carving of Arjuna's penance at Mahābali-puram. In these last two, as in even Chōla temples of somewhat later date, it occurs in the case of *Sivagaṇas* marked by a quaintness all their own in which this fantastic representation of the face on the stomach comes in most appropriately handy as sculptural motif. The influence, quite profound, of a single line of Vālmiki for centuries all over the land and beyond it, and the significance of the motif occurring in great distances of time and place all over and also requiring to be properly understood only by resorting to this single line of the *Rāmāyaṇa* is evident only by the study of this motif itself.

¹ 'Kabandha with face on stomach.'

XXXI. PADMANĀBHA

In the verse :

नाभिप्ररूढाम्बुरुहासनेन संस्तूयमानः प्रथमेन धात्रा ।
अमुं युगान्तोचितयोगनिद्रः संहृत्य लोकान्पुरुषोऽधिशेते ॥

Raghu., XIII. 6¹

Kālidāsa describes the Padmanābha aspect of Viṣṇu, as Nārāyaṇa sleeping on the serpent-couch on the still waters of the primeval ocean. The lotus issuing from the eddy of the navel of the vast blue expanse of Nārāyaṇa's form, comparable only to the vast expanse of the blue ocean, can best be understood by recalling Śaṅkarācārya's verse :

कान्त्यम्भःपूरपूर्णं लसदसितवलीभङ्गभास्वत्तरङ्गे
गम्भीराकारनाभीचतुरतरमहावर्तशोभिन्मुदारे ।
क्रीडत्वानद्धहेमोदरनलिनमहावाड्वाग्निप्रभाढये
कामं दामोदरीयोदरसलिलनिधौ चित्तमत्स्यश्चिरं नः ॥

Viṣṇupādādīkeśāntastuti, 25,²

where this simile is beautifully dealt with. And there are many sculptural representations of this aspect. But the earliest representation of the lotus issuing from human navel is to be seen in sculpture before the Christian era. Long and meandering lotus-stalks issuing from the mouth and navel of Yakshas may be seen in sculpture from Sāncī and Amarāvati, and even in Gupta carvings the motif occurs (pl. XX, 67). To understand properly the significance of the essential nature of the lotus as born and growing in water, we should take into account : Viṣṇu as Nārāyaṇa of the nature of *rasa*, water and juice, which is the sustainer of life and the first among the elements to come into being ; the close association of Yakshas with the great gods of the Hindu pantheon in the early centuries when Yaksha worship was greatly in vogue all over the land and their even being called Yaksha sometimes as in the *Upaniṣad* ; the association of Yaksha with water, as in the *yakṣapraśna* incident of the *Mahābhārata* ; the close association of Yakshas with treasures, all of which are connected with water in some form or the other, the lotus, the conch, the tortoise, the *makara*-fish and so forth being all aquatic ; and Yakshas being sustainers of life by food and water, an aspect represented in the Yakshī carrying a platter of food and pitcher of water from Mathurā and from Amarāvati,—all of which are pointers to the significance of the lotus issuing from the mouth or navel of the Yaksha. Sometimes this lotus-stalk is a thick juicy fragrant flower garland either carried or pulled out of a Yaksha's mouth or the mouth of a crocodile, one of the *nīdhis* and the garland which sometimes appears decorated with rows of coins then becomes very significant as the Yakshas and the *nīdhis* are guardians of wealth as well. This aspect of the aquatic association of the Yakshas has been elaborately dealt with by Dr. Coomaraswamy in his admirable book *Yakshas*. The issuing of the unending meandering creeper or lotus, suggesting life in its diverse aspects, is also significant in its

¹ 'The Lord accustomed to slumber after the deluge, sleeps on this ocean after destroying the worlds, praised by the primordial creator seated on the lotus issuing from his navel.'

² 'May our mind sport freely as a fish in the ocean of Damodara's stomach, filled with the water of a flood of effulgence, with bright waves of dark folds, beautified by the great and picturesque eddy of his deep navel, and rich with the glow of the great oceanic fire in the form of the (navel) lotus for the god with golden navel (i.e. Brahṃā)'

association with the *viśvarūpa* aspect of Viṣṇu of which the different forms issuing from his face, etc., are presented in the *Bhagavadgītā* in the *darśana* given by the Lord to Arjuna or in the picture of the universe presented to his mother Yaśodā by opening his mouth wide to assure her he was not eating mud as reported by Balarāma, narrated in the *Bhāgavata* and *Viṣṇupurāṇa*.

XXXII. KAMALĀSANA

The lotus as a seat with a huge stalk as its support is one of the most favourite themes in literature, and many deities are represented on or associated with the lotus serving as the seat; Brahmā is seated on the lotus from the navel of Viṣṇu, Sarasvatī is *śveta-padmāsana*, seated on white lotus, and Lakshmī has her seat on a red lotus and the lotus-pond is her home. There is practically no deity in India not represented on a lotus-seat. The whole world is conceived as a huge lotus, of which the foot of Hari in his Trivikrama form is the supporting stalk as given in one of the invocatory verses of the Pathārī inscription of Parabala.

त्रिभुवनभवनस्तम्भो नभस्थलाम्बोधिसेतुरघदहनः ।
ब्रह्माण्डमण्डलाम्बुजदण्डरुचिर्जयति हरिचरणः ॥

Epigraphia Indica, IX, p. 252¹

which closely follows similar idea in the opening verse of the *Daśakumāracharita* :

ब्रह्माण्डच्छत्रदण्डः शतधृतिभवनान्भोरुहोनालदण्डः
क्षोणीनौकूपदण्डः क्षरदमृतसरिपट्टिकाकेतुदण्डः ।
ज्योतिश्चक्राक्षदण्डस्त्रिभुवनविजयस्तम्भदण्डोद्भिन्नदण्डः
श्रेयस्त्रैविक्रमस्ते वितरतु विबुधद्वेषिणां कालदण्डः ॥²

In the grand concept of the Śrāvastī miracle, one of the most conspicuous scenes from Buddha's life often represented in sculpture, the magnificence of this lotus concept is portrayed vividly by depicting the central figure of Buddha as a huge one on a huge lotus, the stalk of which is shaken feebly by Nāgarājas shown on either side of it in diminutive proportions to suggest that it extends to the ends of Pātāla or Rasātala, apart from numerous other lotuses with Buddhas seated or standing on each one of them to suggest his simultaneous multiform.

XXXIII. CHARANAKAMALA

The feet of gods and goddesses and *mahāpurushas* as fit objects of worship are often represented in sculpture by means of foot-impressions. These are often referred to in literature in verses like :

तत्र व्यक्तं दृपदि चरणन्यासमर्धेन्दुमौलेः
शश्वत्सिद्धैरुपचितवर्लि भक्तिनम्रः परीयाः ॥

Megha., I. 55,³

¹ ' Prosperous is the foot of Hari, the pillar of the mansion of the three worlds, the bridge over the sky-ocean, the fire consuming sins, beautiful like the stalk of the lotus composed of the universal globe . '

² ' May the foot of Trivikrama render you good, the foot that is the handle of the umbrella of the universe, the stalk of the lotus-residence of Brahmā, the mast of the earth-ship, the staff of the flowing celestial stream-silk-banner, the axle of the wheel of luminous objects, the pillar of victory of the three worlds, the mace of destruction to the enemies of the gods . '

³ ' You may then approach and bow to the clearly marked foot-prints of half-moon crested Śiva, always worshipped with flowers by Siddhas . '

and :

वन्द्यैः पुंसां रघुपतिपदैरङ्कितं मेखलासु

Megha., I. 12¹

of Kālidāsa, and the verse from the *Gāthāsaptasatī* describing the adoration of Buddha's feet by monks. There is no better representation of this devout worship of the feet than that from the Amarāvati rail. Whether of Buddha or of Śiva or of Viṣṇu, the feet as such of these great personalities have been such great objects of veneration that the word *pāda* is used as suffix when respectful mention is intended, as for instance *bhagavatpāda*, Śrī-Śaṅkarācāryapāda, Gauḍapāda ; even when fun is meant, as in the farce *Latakalame-laka-prahasana*, the announcement of the entry of a fussy fool of a scholar is made by referring to him as Kukkuṭamiśrapāda. The feet have always been objects of comparison with the lotus for the softness and red glow and have often been referred to as *charaṇaka-mala* ; and even when the mind of a devotee is compared to a bee its resting place is ultimately the lotus-feet of the Lord, even as in the verse of Udayana in his *Kusumāñjali* :

ईशस्यैष निवेशितः पदयुगे भृङ्गायमाणं भ्रम-
च्चेतो मे रमयत्वयत्नमनघो न्यायप्रसूनाञ्जलिः ॥

Nyāyakusumāñjali, I. 1.²

It is the *Pādāravindaśataka* of Mūka's *Pañchaśatī* that pays the highest tribute to this lotus-feet aspect in literature and probably in art there is nothing better than the painting representing the feet of Buddha on lotus at Ajanṭā, the toes being tenderly fashioned

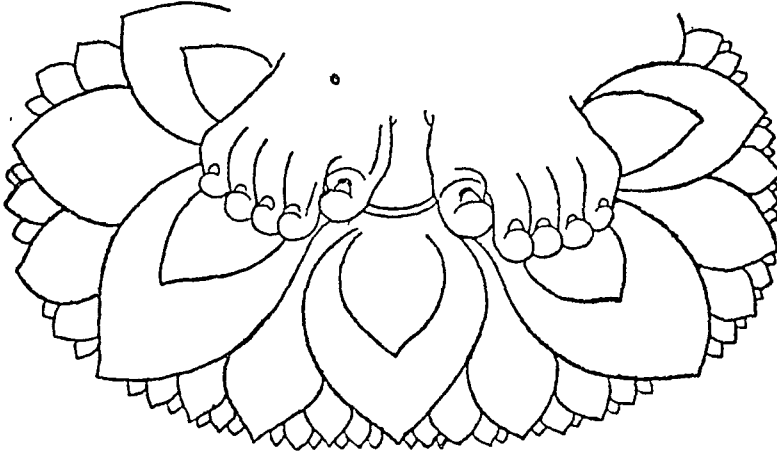


Fig. 17. Feet on lotus—Gupta-Vākāṭaka, 5th century A.D., Ajanṭā, Hyderabad, Deccan. (after Nandalal Bose)

like the delicate petals of a lotus (fig. 17). The lines composing this are very delicate, and the composition of feet on lotus, the *upamāna* and *upameya* so cleverly represented together, with the delicacy of both brought out so well, is the most remarkable achievement of the Vākāṭaka painter in the best period of Gupta art at Ajanṭā.

XXXIV. OTHER LOTUS-MOTIFS

The lotus has been conceived in different forms as a motif or theme in sculpture as in literature. It has been a perennial source of inspiration to the poet as well as the artist. The petals, the filaments, the seed-vessel, the stalk with the bee hovering on it, its colour,

¹ ' Marked on the slopes by the footprints of Raghupati, adorable to men. '

² ' May this unblemished handful of flowers of reasoning placed at the pair of feet of Īśa gladden my heart fluttering like a bee. '

fragrance and bloom are all an inspiration. The lotus in a staggering variety of disposition of petals has been used in the medallion-patterns of all the early rails of stūpas in India, and among these there is nothing that can beat the Amarāvātī lotus-medallions for sheer grace and variety. In the Ceylonese moonstone door-steps, as from Anurādhapura, it is the lotus-petal and their disposition or the goose carrying lotus-stalks in their beaks or a meandering lotus-stalk that heighten the charm of this noble motif. The lotus as a seat, *padmāsana*, has an infinite variety with a whole series of petals arranged in an upward and downward row most beautifully, sometime in natural fashion and in conventional form in many cases. The line of Kālidāsa:

सुखमस्तनयनेन समस्त्या किल स्वयम् ।
पदा पद्मपदेन भेजे सास्त्राभ्युपगमम् ॥

Raghu., IV. 5¹

is a pointer to the type of halo which usually occurs in Gupta sculpture elaborately worked in the most pleasing manner with lotus-petals arranged in a very natural fashion (pl. XX, 68). The lotus occurs as a central ceiling pattern in the *mandapas*, as for example in the *balbhāvanādhapa* from the temple in the Vellore fort. It is only an elaborate and stylized representation of the lotus with its numerous petals that we find in the ceiling of Tejahpāla's temple at Dileśārā, Mount Abu. In Ajanta the motif of the lotus has been utilized in all possible ways, sometimes running whole length of panel border in meandering creeper fashion, the bud, the flowers in bloom and the lotus-leaves and the stalks arranged in a very pleasing fashion.

XXXV. YŪPAS AND HORSES

The *yūpa* or the sacrificial post is a symbol and points to a place of sacrifice. The original post for the sacrifice was always made of wood. Such a *yūpa*, a very early one with an inscription sufficiently damaged because of the fragile nature of the material composing it, was found some years ago and discussed. Similar *yūpas* of stone have also been found in Mathurā and preserved in the Museum. These *yūpas* are mentioned by Kālidāsa in the verse:

ग्रामेष्वान्वदिसृष्टेयं यूपनिक्षेपं यज्यमानम् ।
अमांघ्राः प्रनिगृह्णन्वावर्त्यन्त्यदमाग्निः ॥

Raghu., I. 44.²

where he refers to villages gifted by King Dilipa to sacrificial priests with *yūpas* signifying them as such. These *yūpas* of wood are mentioned also as established by Kārtavīryārjuna in the eighteen *dvīpas*:

संग्रामनिविष्टसहस्रबाहुरष्टादशद्वीपनिग्वानयूपाः ।
अनन्यमाधारणराजशब्दो बभूव योगी किल कार्तवीर्यः ॥

Raghu., VI. 38.³

¹ Padmā (Laksmī), with her lotus-umbrella beautiful to behold like the orb of her halo, herself, though invisibly, waited on him determined for imperial sovereignty.'

² 'Receiving the never-failing benediction after welcome offerings from the sacrificiers in the villages gifted away by him and marked out by their *yūpa* posts.'

³ 'There was a well-known seer (named) Kārtavīrya who engaged his thousand arms on the battlefield, planted sacrificial posts in the eighteen islands and bore the epithet of a sovereign in a manner uncommon to others.'

These *yūpas* of wood were replaced later on by stone replicas as permanent records, which correspond to copies of a permanent nature in metal of records on *bhūrjapatra* that copper-plate grants are. The *yūpas* found in Kutei in Borneo mention the name of Mūlavarman, a king of the fourth-fifth century A.D., who performed many sacrifices including *bahusuvārṇa* and others. The script is in an early South Indian variety and is closely allied to the Veṅgi and Pallava script of the period. A glorious picture of sacrificial zeal is presented here, and the description of the gifts in the sacred place of Vaprakeśvara vies with those made by Śātakarṇi as recorded in a cave inscription at Nānāghāṭ in Western India. The *yūpa* inscriptions both in and outside India, specially the ones from Borneo, are elegant from the literary point of view, important from the historical, and interesting from the archaeological.

The great zeal for winning heaven by good deeds among which sacrifices were prominent is evident both from literature where *aśvamedhas* and *rājasūya-yāgas* frequently occur among the exploits of kings and emperors and inscriptions where ten *aśvamedhas* or *daśāśvamedha*, *rājasūya*, *śoḍaśi*, *atirātra* and other sacrifices performed by royal ancestors of donor kings are mentioned, and also from archaeological remains that prove all that is contained in literature. The *aśvamedha* coins of the Śātavāhanas (pl. XXIV, 84) and of Samudragupta (pl. XXIV, 85) are very interesting from this point of view. The figures given on the coins are the horse and the *yūpa*. The legend on the Gupta coins mentions the conquest of heaven by meritorious deeds. The horse being the most important *aṅga* or limb of the sacrifice even as described by Kālidāsa :

तदङ्गमग्रं मघवन्महाकृत्तोरमुं तुरङ्गं प्रतिमोक्तुमर्हसि ।

Raghu., III. 46¹

is appropriately presented on the coins with significance. The horse and its importance is also evident from the figures of the animal in stone almost life-size discovered and preserved in the Lucknow Museum (pl. XXI, 69). These are commemorative figures in stone of the horses in flesh and blood proclaiming to the world, like the stone replicas of the wooden *yūpas*, the *aśvamedha* sacrifices performed by mighty kings, as symbols of these great ceremonial events. The recent important discovery of an *aśvamedha* site near Kalsi by Mr. T. N. Ramachandran revealing numerous inscribed bricks from the *chayanas* opens up new delightful vistas of study in this field.

XXXVI. VĪRAKKAL

In many parts of India there are found stone-slabs set up with panels arranged one above the other all showing the exploits of a hero, his heroic fight, his death and attainment of the heaven of heroes, *vīrasvarga*, where he is led by celestial damsels awaiting him for the purpose (pl. XXI, 70) and his creed, which is indicated by the favourite deity to whose worship he is accustomed, being shown in the topmost panel with himself in an attitude of adoration, the sun and moon above indicating that his fame and his memorial would last for the duration of these planets. To understand this type of memorial stone or *vīrakkal*, as it is called, we have only to turn to Sanskrit literature. In the *Raghu-ramāsa*, in the description of the battle between Aja and the other princes that attended the *svayamvara* of Indumatī, the death of warriors on the battle-field and the ascent to the

¹ 'Therefore Oh Indra ! please release this horse, the most essential thing in this great sacrifice.'

heaven of heroes in the company of celestial nymphs are given :

कश्चिद्विपत्खङ्गहृतोत्तमाङ्गः सद्यो विमानप्रभुतामुपेत्य ।

वामाङ्गसंसवतसुराङ्गनः स्वं नृत्यत्कवन्धं समरे ददर्श ॥

Raghu., VII. 51.¹

XXXVII. SATIKKAL

Closely allied to the *vīrakkal* is the *satikkal* or *mastikal* or *mahāsatikal* to commemorate a *mahāsati*, a woman who, out of her utter despair, an extreme affection, and a high sense of wifhood, immolated herself on the funeral pyre of her husband. There are many such memorials with or without inscription like the *vīrakkals*. These *satikkals* (pl. XXI, 71) show a woman's hand raised aloft to show clearly the bangles which suggest her wifehood (*i.e.*, that her husband is living). It cannot be said that the *satī* was an universal custom in India, as there are instances of devoted wives following their husbands on the funeral pyre and also staying behind to look after the progeny. Of the two wives of Pāṇḍu, one ascended the funeral pyre and the other remained behind. In the famous context of the queen of Prabhākaravardhana preparing to follow her lord on the funeral pyre Bāṇa puts through the voice of the young prince Harshavardhana a strong plea against *satī*, while the queen herself powerfully pleads for it. In the mediaeval period the *javhar* in Rājputāna shows *satī* at its peak. It is whole battalions of Rājput women that stuck their finger-prints on sandal-paste and cheerfully proceeded decked in their best to meet the flaming fire and get consumed as cheerfully as they approached their lords in the cool hours of their bridal day. The hand was the most important symbol of this auspiciousness as the *pishṭapañchāṅgula*, the mark of the palms in coloured sandal paste, was a special privilege of the women with husbands living for decorating the walls and almost every household object on auspicious occasions :

पिष्टपञ्चाङ्गुलमण्डयमानोलूखलमुसलशिलाद्युपकरणम्

Harshacharita, IV, p. 142²

and

शोभने मुहूर्ते हरितगोमयोपलिप्ताजिरस्थण्डिलस्थापितमसितेतरकुसुममालापरिक्षिप्तकण्ठं

पिष्टपञ्चाङ्गुलपाण्डुरं मुखनिहितनवचूतपल्लवं पूर्णकलशमुदीक्षमाणः प्रणम्य कुलदेवताभ्यः

Harshacharita, II, p. 57.³

The literary description of *pishṭapañchāṅgula* as we find in Bāṇa's *Harshacharita* and *Kādambarī* is found commented on by sculptures as we find the same graphically presented in a carving from Bharhut (pl. XXIII, 76). The suspicious nature of the bangles worn by women signifying their wifehood is evident from the line from the *Gāthāsaptasatī* which

¹ 'Another with head cut by the sword of his foe and immediately becoming the lord of a celestial vehicle with a divine nymph clinging to his left saw his headless trunk dancing on the battlefield.'

² 'With all household articles like mortar, pestle and stone slab being decorated with (auspicious) powder marks of the five fingers.'

³ 'At the auspicious moment he bowed to the family deities even as he observed, the filled pitcher placed on the ground of the shed smeared with green cowdung, with its neck encircled by a garland of white flowers, white with the (auspicious) powder mark of the five fingers, with fresh mango leaves stuck in its mouth.'

calls them *avīdhavālakṣaṇa-valaya* :

आवधवनसज्जनसं क्खं णेन्ती पुणो पुणो मनिदम् ।
[अविध-वाल्क्यजनसं खानं मन्मथः पुनर्मनिदम् ॥]

Gāthāsaptasatī, VI. 30.¹

When we study the *satikkal* in this literary context and understand the significance of the bangles signifying their state afflicted by widowhood, we can understand why the forearm of the women is chosen for representation. The line of Kālidāsa put through the mouth of Sītā, which is very typical and voice of the general feelings of Indian womanhood so tenderly attached and so devoted to the husband :

साहं तवः सुखेति (हृदयं) प्रमुनेत्यस्य मरिचमे ।
भुगे यथा मे जलान्तरेति स्वमेव भर्ता न च विप्रयोगः ॥

Raghu., XIV. 66²

and the general idea of reunion in heaven and an absolute constancy as gathered in the verse :

वीर्यं वीर्यमर्चयन्ती अक्षय्यमर्चयते
देव्यमात्ममग्ननादेवमात्म मयः ।
पूर्वात्मार्चयन्ती सदा सदा कालमर्चयते
वीर्यमर्चयन्ती पुनर्मात्ममर्चये ॥

Raghu., VIII. 95³

is also illustrated in the *satikkal* stone, the topmost panel of which sometimes shows the reunion of the husband and wife, and this union is assured for all time so that the *satī* has that husband alone as hers for ever and ever. This is suggested, as in the *Vīrakkal*, by showing the sun and moon on top which is only another way of putting *āchandrārka* which is actually even expressed in inscriptions. When the memorial stones are inscribed mention is made of the name of the *satī*, the place and date and occasion for the immolation. A *satikkal*, now preserved in the Madras Museum, is dated in the 16th century and comes from near Hampi, where, after the battle of Talikota, there was occasion for many such instances.

XXXVIII. PRATIMĀ-GRĪHA

Mathurā is the findspot of some of the best portrait-sculptures unearthed in India. And being Kushan they are sufficiently early. It was believed some time ago that the Pātnā Yakshas were portrait-statues representing very early kings of pre-Mauryan date, but subsequently scholars have come round to an opinion that accepts them as Yaksha figures like Mañibhadra Yaksha of Pawāyā, the workmanship of the figure pointing to the 3rd century B. C., the inscription on the scarf being in letters of about the 1st century

¹ 'Restoring to its place the (auspicious) bangle signifying wifehood even as it slipped down again and again.'

² 'I shall after childbirth try to do penance with my gaze fixed on the sun so that again in a future birth you yourself will be my husband and there will be no separation.'

³ 'By abandoning his body in the spot rendered sacred by the confluence of the daughter of Jahnu (i.e., Gaṅgā) and Sarayū he again came to be counted among the celestials; and reunited with his beloved exceedingly more beautiful than before he again enjoyed (with her) in sportive mansions in the interior of the celestial garden.'

A.D. Unfortunately the portrait-statues in relief in the Nānāghāt cave in Western India are nearly completely obliterated, leaving only the inscriptions in the form of labels giving their names. A whole gallery of successive kings responsible for the building up of the temple in successive stages is found at Rameśvaram, at Madurai and other places. The portrait-statues of Tirumala Nāyak of Madurai, the famous bronzes representing Kṛṣṇa-devarāya and his queens, king Achyutarāya's bronze-portrait, the portrait-statue of Viṣṇu-varddhana Hoysaḷa from Halebīd, that of Rājārāja from Tanjore and Kāñchīpuram, portraits of three generations of kings Simhaviṣṇu, Mahendravarman and Narasiṃhavarman from Mahābalipuram, the portrait in relief of king Gaṇḍarāditya set up by his sorrowing queen Sembianmādevī, the grand aunt of Rājārāja, are some of the well-known ones in India. But the Kushan portraits are by far the most famous of these. The headless statue of Kaṇishka is one of the greatest acquisitions of the Museum at Mathurā. Statues of Wema Kadphises and some other subsequent kings make up a regular family-series for three generations. Probably there was a *devakula* for housing these portrait-statues. In the *Pratimānāṭaka* of Bhāsa we get a detailed description of a similar ancestral *devakula* for enshrining such portrait-statues of three generations of ancestors. Bharata reaches Ayodhyā and at the outskirts enters a *devakula*, where, after some talk with the priest, who forbids him from bowing to the statues under the misapprehension that they represent deities as they were portraits of kings, he discovers that they represent his own ancestors including the latest addition—that of his own father Daśaratha. Kālidāsa refers to this kind of *devakula* as *balimanniketa*, where Rāma sees the portrait of his father, all that is left of him, after his return to Ayodhyā from the forest :

वाप्पायमाणो बलिमन्निकेतमालेख्यशेषस्य पितुन्निवेश ।

Raghu, XIV. 15.¹

Such portrait-representations are technically called *viddhachitra* and the drama of Rāja-śekhara styled the *Viddhaśālabhañjikā* is based on a plot centering on a portrait statue of a princess. The *viddha* type of portrait is mentioned among the types of pictures and sculptures in the *Abhilashitārthachintāmaṇi* of Someśvara :

सादृश्यं लिख्यते यत्र दर्पणे प्रतिविम्बवत् ।
तच्चित्रं विद्धमित्याहुर्विश्वकर्मादयो बुधाः ॥
आकस्मिके लिखामीति यदा तूद्दिश्य लिख्यते ।
आकारमात्रसंपत्वे तदविद्धमिति स्मृतम् ॥²

The term also occurs generally in literature in this sense :

द्वीपान्तरराजकन्यकाभिरनुदिवसमपहार्यमाणचित्रफलकारोपितविद्धरूपः

Tilakamañjarī, p. 133.³

Literature abounds in references to such portrait pictures and sculptures. They were used also for bringing together lovers and there are several stories in the *Kathāsaritsāgara* of marriages of princes and noblemen arranged with famous beauties of the day by exchange

¹ 'He entered with tears in his eyes the memorial palace of his father of whom all that remained now was only a portrait.'

² 'Wise men like Viśvakarma and others consider that a portrait picture (*viddha*) which is drawn with the likeness so perfect as to resemble the reflection in the mirror. If it is drawn at random and there is only the general form portrayed (without perfect likeness) it is known as *aviddha*.'

³ 'With his portrait picture painted on boards fetched every day by princesses from distant islands.'

of their paintings carried hither and thither by land or sea. Sculptural versions of presentation of pictures of both princes and princesses illustrating a Jātaka story at Barabudur (pl. XXV, 89 and 90) remind us strongly of similar arrangement by ministers to procure suitable consorts for a prince as described in Kālidāsa's verse :

प्रतिकृतिरचनाभ्यो दूतिसन्दर्शिताभ्यः
समधिकतररूपाः सुन्दरान्तानकागैः ।
अधिविविदुरगात्वरारूतास्तस्य यूनः
प्रथमपरिगृहीते श्रीगुवी राजकन्याः ॥

Raghu., XVIII. 53.¹

This pleasant theme finds expression even in later examples, as for instance in the Mughal painting (pl. XXV, 91) where a prince holds a painted picture of his beloved to amuse himself in her separation.

And it is this literary reference that helps us to understand the portrait-statues of ancient India in their proper perspective. The remark that Tejahpāla cried when he saw the portrait of his mother carved of wood need not surprise us if we have no misapprehension about the ability of ancient Indian artists in portrait-work as even in such a late and degenerate period as the post-Vijayanagara period ; the numerous portrait-figures of Tirumala Nāyak of Madurai (pl. XXII, 73) tally perfectly and arouse our admiration for the meticulous working of details which makes the likeness so perfect. Whether in stone or in ivory this likeness is maintained. The mere discovery of the portrait-statues would not have presented them so clearly for our comprehension in their proper perspective but for these literary gleanings bearing on them and their habitat.

XXXIX. CHITRĀSĀLĀ

Today we consider the Ajantā and Bāgh caves as regular art-galleries for our eyes to feast on ; and we have separate art-galleries for introducing in proper form masterpieces of art to the public and educate them in proper appreciation of works of art. Such galleries, both private and public, besides royal art galleries in the palace, are well-known in ancient India, and literature, both technical and general, presents a glorious picture of the *chitraśālā* as it is called. As I have devoted a whole paper and discussed at some length the *chitraśālās* or art-galleries,² it is enough if I briefly touch here on some important aspects from the purely archaeological point of view. The *Rāmāyaṇa* mentions the *chitraśālā* in the palace of Rāvaṇa :

लतागृहाणि चित्राणि चित्रशालागृहाणि च ।
ददर्श राक्षसेन्द्रस्य रावणस्य निवेशने ॥

Rāmāyaṇa, V. 6. 36 and 38.³

* An *antahpurachitraśālā* is beautifully described in the *Uttararāmacharita* of Bhavabhūti, where in the palace Rāma shows to Sītā painted scenes from their own lives. In

¹ 'Princesses more beautiful than their portraits presented by female messengers were secured by the ministers who desired excellent progeny for that (royal) youth to whom they wedded them superseding his already wedded consorts, Royal Prosperity and Earth'

² 'See Bibliography, Sivaramamurti 3.'

³ 'He saw in the palace of Rāvaṇa the sovereign of the Rākshasas...picturesque fern houses and picture galleries.'

the *Tilakaṃaṇḍjarī* similar painted halls in the palace are mentioned, and there is even a *chitraśālā* of the bedroom spoken of as *supanichitrasālilā*:

प्रविश्य बन्धुमुत्तरदीप्तिनीया मन्त्रा-रचनायाम्

Tilakamaṇḍjarī, p. 246.¹

In the *Uttararāmacharita* the galleries of the *chitraśālā* are called *vithis*, a word closely approximating 'gallery':

मन्त्रा-रम्ये ! मन्त्रमेव चित्रकलेभ्यस्तुपरिचयार्थं चरितमस्यां वीक्ष्याम-
भिहितान् । कथयामहे ।

राम-—मनसि यत्, दुर्मेतायमानां देवी विनोदयाम् ।

Uttararāmacharita, I.²

In the *Kādambarī*, Bhaṣya speaks of the *chitraśālā* in the style of a *vimāna*, and this is in conformity with the *Nāgabhūṭī*, wherein the building is described as having a small *gopurā* in the front with *cīḍhara*, *lobhita*, etc., satisfying the *lekhaṇa* of a *vimāna*:

सुसज्जितमण्डपैस्त्वामणोरमायागर्वाभिः स्वमानाभिर्गच्छन्तीत्यप्रमदायलोकास्तुह्ला-
स्यन्त्यनारविर्गोभिर्गोमानादतिभिर्गोमन्त्रा

Kādambarī, p. 99.³

The latter is built by means of windows which are also spoken of in connection with the *chitraśālā* in the *Uttararāmacharita*:

राम-—प्रिये यन्मयमोदयते संविद्यते भव ।

Uttararāmacharita, I.⁴

In the *Udayasundarīlathā* the picture-hall is described as supported by massive pillars:

उत्तरारम्यनी चित्रमालातमिव रत्ननिजमयान् कलिताम्

Udayasundarīlathā, p. 133.⁵

In the *Ratnāvalī* a *dantavalabhikā* and a *torapa* or an ornamented arched doorway are described as embellishment of the *chitraśālā*:

कञ्चनमाला—(परिव्रज्यादयोऽयं) कथमर्थं यत् भर्तास्वरयतामिणेण मदनावस्थां
प्रमोदयन्त्यननोरनयनभ्या उदयपविष्टस्तिष्ठति ।

Ratnāvalī, III.⁶

According to the *Tilakamaṇḍjarī* the *dantavalabhikā* is painted with pictures on ivory. The *aṅga* or the courtyard is decorated with *rāṅgoli* patterns according to the drama *Vri-
shabhānujā*. The different patterns of the *chitraśālā* shaped like *maṇḍala* or *mardala*,

¹ 'Enter the picture gallery of the sleeping apartment in the company of Bandhusundarī.'

² 'Lakṣmī—Sire, the painter Arjuna has painted here in this gallery scenes from your life as instructed by me. You may please see this.'

Rāma—You know, my boy, to entertain the queen who is dejected.'

³ 'The city was decorated by picture galleries containing (pictures of) gods, demons, Gandharvas, Vidyādhars and Nāgas as if they had descended from heaven in divine mansion in their desire to see the delight of perennial festivities.'

⁴ 'Rāma—Please, my dear, sit near the window.'

⁵ 'She was like a picture gallery for the residence of Rati with supple thighs like columns supporting it.'

⁶ 'Kāñchanamālā—(moves forward and sees) How is it that the king is seated here on the top of the ivory balcony on the *torapa* gate hiding his lovelorn state on the pretext of indisposition.'

svastika, *sarvatobhadra* and so on with its different parts consisting of halls with the main *vīthīs* or galleries, the verandahs, the doorways both important and minor, staircase, drinking hall and large seats, a number of them for visitors. A large mirror and pleasing artificial chandeliers to illumine the hall are also mentioned. Of the types of *chitraśālās* there is mention of the general ones for the public in the heart of the city, those of the palace and the harem :

अधिरुह्यान्तःपुरप्रासादमिममस्यादिचित्रशालिकायाः प्राङ्मणवित्तदिकोपविष्टा

Tilakamañjarī, p. 24¹

and even moving *chitraśālās* and small ones specially for the bed-room :

प्रविश्य बन्धुगुन्दरीद्वितीया शयनचित्रशालाम्

Tilakamañjarī, p. 246.²

It is interesting to note that Trivikrama Bhaṭṭa was aware of travelling or itinerant *chitraśālās* :

प्रयाणयोग्यवन्त्रचित्रशालागृहेः गञ्चारिणि गन्धर्वनगर इव रमणीये

Nalachampū, p. 195.³

The *Naishadhīyacharita* gives a picture of the themes dealt with in the *śayanachitraśālā* :

भित्तिचित्रनिखिताखिलक्रमा यत्र तस्थुरितिहाससंकथाः

पद्मनन्दनभुतारिरंमुतामन्दसाहसहसन्मनोभुवः ॥

पुष्पकाण्डजयटिण्डिमयितं यत्र गीतमकलत्रकामिनः ।

पारदारिकविलाससाहसं देवभर्तुरुदट्टिङ्ग भित्तिषु ॥

Naishadhīyacharita, XVIII. 20 and 21.⁴

The temple, which was a veritable *chitraśālā*, was similarly decorated, and to understand the verses of Śrī Harsha quoted above we have only to see some of the themes in temples as at Paṭṭadakal, where labelled scenes of Indra's approaches to Ahalyā are carved (pl. XXII, 74). From the *Nalachampū* we gather that the *śarat* season or the autumn is the time when *chitraśālās* were most frequented. The *Kādambarī* gives a variety of themes represented in the pictures of the *chitraśālā*. One of the *chitraśālās* mentioned in literature in the *Hīrasaubhāgya* is a historical one that still survives at Fatehpur Sikri. It is a 16th century picture hall in the palace of Akbar, where the emperor received his distinguished guests and where the Jain monk Hīrasūri was welcomed by the great Mughul :

इदं महीन्दुर्मुनिचन्द्रमब्रवीत्पुनन्तु पूज्या मम चित्रशालिकाम् ।

Hīrasaubhāgya, XIX.⁵

¹ 'Having climbed up the palace of the harem she sat on the platform in the courtyard of the picture gallery attached to it.'

² 'Entering the picture gallery of the sleeping apartment in the company of Bandhusundarī.'

³ 'Appearing beautiful like the moving city of the celestials with itinerant picture galleries with mechanical movement (on wheels).'

⁴ 'Where there were drawn in all their sequence of narration on the painted walls, stories from the epics of Cupid who laughed at the great boldness of the lotus-born Brahmā desirous of enjoying his own daughter ; on the walls was carved as a triumphal drum-beat as it were that rashness in sporting with others' wives of Indra, the lord of celestials who loved the spouse of (sage) Gautama.'

⁵ 'The earthly luminary (the emperor) spoke this to the moon-like sage "Oh venerable one ! Please purify (by your presence) my picture gallery "'.

If today most of the *chitraśālās* are lost, we yet have literature to supplement our knowledge by this graphic description. Ajaṇṭā, Bāgh, the walls of the perambulatory passage around the central cell of the Brīhadiśvara temple at Tanjore are to be studied only in this context.

XL. FOLK-ART

Elements of folk-art which have had an abiding influence on the life and aesthetic appeal of people through the many centuries and millennia are as well understood by means of surviving ancient and living modern examples as also by all that we learn of them from literature.

i. TERRACOTTAS

Terracottas representing the Mother Goddess and human and animal figurines are found from the most ancient depths in excavations. We know that different animals showing a wide range of choice have been found at Mohenjo-daro and throw great light on the capacity of the early Indian sculptor or modeller of clay. Similar terracottas of a later date but earlier than the Christian era, showing the same immense popularity of these subjects as in the time of Mohenjo-daro civilization, come from Bhīṭā, Kauśāmbī, Śrāvastī, Rāmnagar, Rājghāt and so forth. The purpose of these terracottas are manifold. It was for various ceremonies that terracottas were specially used though their interest was more among juvenile folk. Even today toys are among the presents that accompany the bride to her husband's home. Such use and the preparation of the toys for the purpose is graphically described by Bāṇa in the context of the marriage of princess Rājyaśrī in the *Harshacharita* :

चतुरवित्रकरचक्रवाललिख्यमानमङ्गल्यालेख्यम्, लेप्यकारकदम्बकक्रियमाणमृण्मयमीनकूर्मम-
करनारिकेलकदलीपूगवृक्षकम्

Harshacharita, IV, p. 142.¹

The picturesque description of terracotta figurines prepared and coloured is supported by the passage from the *Śākuntala* which speaks of the colour on the toy peacock :

तापसी—सत्त्वदमण, सउन्दलावण्यं पेक्ख । (सर्वदमन, शकुन्तलावण्यं प्रेक्षस्व ।)
बालः—(सदृष्टिक्षेपम् ।) कहिं वा मे अज्जु । (कुत्र वा मम माता ।)
उभे—णामसादिस्सेण वञ्चिदो माउवच्छलो । (नामसादृश्येन वञ्चितो मातृवत्सलः ।)
द्वितीया—वच्छ इमस्स मित्तिआमोरअस्स रम्मत्तणं देक्खति भणिदोसि । (वत्स,
अस्य मृत्तिकामयूरस्य रम्यत्वं पश्येति भणितोऽसि ।)

Śākuntala, VII.²

The bright gay colours which are absent in the terracottas recovered from excavation should only be imagined by the help of texts and modern representatives of this ancient industry. The potter still retains a very dexterous hand at this kind of work all over the

¹ 'Auspicious pictures were being painted by a band of clever artists, terracotta figurines of fish, tortoise, crocodile, cocoanut and areca palms and plantain trees being prepared by a host of modellers.'

² 'Female ascetic—Oh Sarvadama, please see the beauty of the bird (*śākuntalāvanya*).

Boy—(Looking around) where is my mother (meaning *Śākuntalā*).

Both—The boy so fond of his mother is misled by the similarity of the term.

The second lady—Child! You are asked to see the beauty of the clay figurine of a peacock.'

land, specially in Bengal, but the history of the traditions should be traced to hoary antiquity. In this connection it may be remembered that the popularity of the terracotta work is understood by such instances as Satyavān who is called Chitrāsva in the *Mahābhārata* on account of his passion for preparing clay figurines of the horse and the story of Sālivāhana, the rival of Vikramāditya, who prepared a whole army of clay horses and elephants. The custom of preparing such figurines for religious purposes still survives, and we have in South India battalions of horses and elephants all made of clay as votive offerings in the vicinity of temples of Aiyanār, or crawling baby in tens and hundreds offered to Santānagopāla in the temple of Kṛishṇa at Maṇṇārguḍi. There are similar votive offerings of figurines of clay in other parts of India. The *Vināyakachaturthī* in Mahārāshṭra is an occasion for the finest expression of the artistic view of the nation in the preparation of the form of the remover of obstacles conceived as elephant-headed Gajānana. The *Sarasvatī pūjā* and *Durgā pūjā* in Bengal, when magnificent images of the deity are produced by the potters, with whom the art is a great living tradition, is an event which no one who has once seen can ever fail to recall as one of the most pleasant memories in one's experience.

ii. YAMAPAṬAS, ETC.

The folk-element of painting is also most interesting study. The description in the *Mahābhārata* of the worship of Yakshī Jarā painted on the wall by the great royal house at Rājagṛīha is even today seen in the survivals of worship of deities delineated on the wall in conventionalized fashion for Lakshmī *pūjā* and Vāṭa-Sāvitṛī *pūjā* in South India, the Śītalā *pūjā* and Manasā *pūjā* in Bengal and in numerous pictures or paṭas carried as mementoes by pilgrims visiting sacred shrines like Purī, Rāmeśvaram, Dvārakā, Śrīraṅgam and so forth. The *yamapaṭas* or scenes of punishment in hell and reward for meritorious deeds in heaven so common in ancient India and so frequently referred to in literature still survive all over the land, and even in distant Java the *yamapaṭa* is a favourite entertainment for children. The *Harshacharita* gives by far the most realistic and picturesque description of the picture-showman moving about in the streets of the city with crowds of children about him eager to see these pictures :

प्रविशन्नेव च विपणिवर्त्मनि कुतूहलकुलबह्वलकपरिवृतमूर्ध्वयष्टिविष्कम्भवित्ते
वामहस्तवर्तिनि भोषणमहिषाधिगुह्येननाथसनाथे निववति पटे परलोकव्यतिकरमितरकरकन्तिनेन
मरकाण्डेन कथयन्तं यमपट्टिक ददर्श ।

Harshacharita, p. 153.¹

The Madras Museum has a painting of the late Deccani school from near Cuddapah showing scenes of hell and heaven with detailed description in the form of labels in Telugu for each little scene (pl. XXIII, 75). This is one of the late representatives of the ancient *yamapaṭa*. During temple festivals in South India there are always picture-showmen who carry *yamapaṭas* in one form or other for the amusement of children and their own living

¹ The story of the picture-showman still surrounded by a number of excited and excited boys and explained to them the story of the other world from a painted picture-roll with Yama on a terrible black horse, a yellow bell fastened to his left hand, by pointing with a small bell in his other hand.

iii. RĀṄGOLĪ, ETC.

The *rāṅgolī* or *ālpanā*, *kolam* or *muggu* as it is known in Bombay, Bengal, Tamilnad and Andhra is a pleasing decoration of the ground with patterns in coloured powders. *Rāṅgolī* is only a corruption of *raṅgavallī* and is the same as the *dhūlīchitra* described in the *Nāradaśilpa*. There are numerous references to *raṅgavallī* decoration in literature :

मण्डचन्तो मसृणमुक्ताफलक्षोदरङ्गावलीभिः प्राङ्गणानि ।

Nalachampū, p. 117,¹

and this is one of the most appealing branches of folk-art which still lives with all its tradition. In painting and sculpture there are representations of similar patterns. And specially auspicious marks like dots and *piṣṭapañchāṅgula*, marked with the fingers and the palm dipped in colour-paste, are an ancient practice not only mentioned by Bāṇa in the *Harshacharita* and *Kādambarī* but also actually shown in sculpture of the earliest date, in some scenes from Bharhut. This is still a living practice and probably the significance of the representations of *piṣṭapañchāṅgula* in Bharhut sculpture (pl. XXIII, 76) would not be understood but for this reference in literature and the survival of the practice even today. The practice of imprinting *piṣṭapañchāṅgula* marks on almost every object was so common that even the bull of Śiva is described in the Mandasor inscription of Yaśodharman as so marked by Pārvatī :

उक्षाणं तं दधानः क्षितिधरतनयादत्तपञ्चालङ्कः
द्राघिष्ठः शूलपाणेः क्षपयतु भवतां शत्रुतेजांसि केतुः ॥

Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum III. p. 146.²

These *piṣṭapañchāṅgulas* remind us of another significant symbolic marking on the floor, the feet of Chitrāgupta and of baby Kṛishṇa and Varalakshmī from the gate to the inner apartments suggesting the coming of the deity and the welcome accorded. Like the mark of the palm, the mark of the feet was also an important factor, and in this context we may recall to our mind the immense popularity of the worship of feet, Buddha's, Viṣṇu's and Śiva's, the last referred to by Kālidāsa in the *Meghadūta*. The practice of this painting of foot-marks on the ground shows its early origin in such representations as the mark of foot-prints on the silken cloth held by Śakra to receive the new-born baby Buddha in Lumbini grove, a favourite theme in Amarāvātī, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa and other *stūpas* of the Kṛishṇa valley.

XLI. SYMBOLS AND SYMBOLISM

Symbols and the context in which they are used have great significance. They are properly understood only in their proper setting. In archaeology symbols play an important part in conveying sense not expressed verbally. They have their place in sculpture, epigraphy and numismatics. In architecture the different types of buildings like *padma*, *svastika*, *sarvatobhadra* mentioned in literature and surviving in actual examples have their own suggestive value. In inscriptions also the significance of the use of symbols may be considered. In the Hāthigumphā inscription of Khāravela there is the *svas-*

¹ 'Let the thresholds be decorated with colour patterns of fine pearl solution.'

² 'May that tall banner of Śūlapāṇi (Śiva) destroy the might of your enemies, the banner that bears the bull marked with the auspicious imprint of the five fingers given by the daughter of the mountain (Pārvatī).'

tika and *śrīvatsa* given first. This is as much as to say *svasti-śrī* and we know that verbally *svasti-śrī* begins many inscriptions. This symbolic way of putting the same auspicious utterance is peculiarly charming and it is only in the context and the background of knowledge of the occurrence of the utterance of this in other inscriptions that we can understand the true significance of the value of the symbols in the position they occur. In similar fashion in the case of coins symbols have been used most effectively. To take one instance, the glorious spread of fame of a monarch beyond all possible limits is expressed by four symbols and this is given on a coin of the Sātavāhana king Yajña Sātakarṇi (pl. XXIV, 86). The four symbols are the mountain with a crescent on top, the so-called Ujjain symbol with the crescent on top, zigzag and a circle of dots. The significance of these symbols and the reason for their appearing together are not clear when it is considered from the purely numismatic point of view without reference to Sanskrit literature; but when we turn to this source and study it in the light of a verse from the *Raghuvaṃśu* describing the fame of Raghu as going beyond the Lokāloka mountain, crossing the four oceans, reaching the abode of the serpents i.e., the nether world and soaring up to heaven :

आरूढमद्रीनुदधीन्वितीर्णं भुजङ्गमानां वसतिं प्रविष्टम् ।

ऊर्ध्वं गतं यस्य न चानुबन्धि यशः परिच्छेत्तुमियत्तयालम् ॥

Raghu., VI. 77 ¹

it becomes clear. Here, as according to *kavisamaya*, fame is compared to the moon, the crescent is introduced on the mountain which stands for the Lokāloka mountain at the extreme borders of the earth and the oceans are presented as four *kaṭāhas* or receptacles, beyond which the crescent is repeated to show how fame crossed and went beyond the oceans. The nether world, the abode of the snakes, is suggested by a zigzag after the crooked gait of the reptile. The circle of stars suggests the sky and the celestial sphere above. Raghu's fame could not be gauged by any measure and spread everywhere white like the moon. This great thought so appealed to the great king Yajña Sātakarṇi that he adopted it and presented it symbolically to suggest his own fame as some decades earlier his ancestor Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi had done. This idea was so appreciated by even later sovereigns of the Kshatrapa dynasty that it was continued with slight modifications on their coins as well. The obverse of the coin of Yajña Sātakarṇi shows him as a youth wearing *kākapakṣhas* suggesting his valour even when he ascended the throne as a youth and acts as a commentary on the line of Kālidāsa :

काकपक्षधरमेत्य याचितस्तेजसां हि न वयः समीक्ष्यत ॥

Raghu., XI. 1. ²

Another coin of the Sātavāhana dynasty, that of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi, shows a single strung bow on it and the legend gives the name of the king (pl. XXIV, 87). In the Nāsik cave inscription of Balasiri the loving queen mother has described the great qualities and royal splendour of her son Gautamīputra and one of the phrases here used to describe

¹ 'His fame ascended mountains, crossed the oceans, entered the abode of the snakes (Pātāla), went up to heaven and being still expansive was too much to be measured by any standard.'

² ' (The king) was approached (by Kauśika) and requested (to send Rāma) even when he was still wearing side locks, as age is of no consideration in the case of the powerful.'

his unrivalled bowmanship is the term, *ekadhanudharasa*, the one bowman (fig. 18) which is symbolically expressed on the coin. And to understand this it is again a line of Kālidāsa :

न केवलं तद्गुरुरेकपार्थिवः क्षितावभूदेकधनुर्धरोऽपि सः ।

Raghu., III. 31¹

that comes to our aid, as it elucidates both the line of the inscription and the symbol on the coin.



Fig. 18. *Ekadhanudharasa*, an epithet from Queen Gautamī Balasiri's Nāsik inscription describing her son Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi—Śātavāhana, 2nd century A. D., Nasik, Western India

There is another coin showing a thunderbolt and an arrow on the reverse and it belongs to Nahapāna, who was overcome by Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi, who restructed many of his coins (pl. XXIV, 88). The coin of Nahapāna has also symbolically suggested the power of the king, who was as valorous as Indra, and the idea is a close parallel to that in the *Vikramorvaśīya*, where the protective power of king Vikrama and Indra are mentioned together with special reference to the thunderbolt of the one and the bow and arrow of the other. These are just a few symbols to suggest the possibility of their study with the help of Sanskrit literature and the field is vast and rich.

XLII. EXPRESSIONS IN EPIGRAPHY

For the proper understanding of the text in several inscriptions Sanskrit poets, whose contributions to the literature in the language are the most noteworthy, offer help in a manner so effective that a comparison of their expressions with those in the inscriptions will fully justify this course. The greatest of Sanskrit poets Vālmīki opens his *Rāmāyaṇa* with the verse :

तपःस्वाध्यायनिरतं तपस्वी वाग्विदां वरम् ।
नारदं परिप्रच्छ वाल्मीकिर्मुनिपुङ्गवम् ॥

V. I. 1. ²

In the 4th century copper-plate from Maṭṭepād the donees are described in the phrase :

एभ्यो ब्रह्मणेभ्यो नानागोत्रचरणतपःस्वाध्यायनिरतेभ्यः

Epigraphia Indica, XVII, p. 329, ³

and the source is obvious. Among the many *birudas* of the Pallava king inscribed on the monuments of Mahābalipuram there is one on the Dharmarāja-ratha in florid Pallava-*Grantha* script :

सत्यपराक्रमः

South Indian Inscriptions, I. p. 4, ⁴

¹ 'His father was not only the only sovereign on earth but was also the only bowman.'

² 'Sage Vālmīki asked of that foremost of sages and best of scholars Nārada who was devoted to penance and the study of his *Veda*.'

³ 'To these Brāhmaṇas of different *gotras* and *charaṇas*, and devoted to penance and study of their *Vedas*.'

⁴ 'Truly valorous.'

and we have only to refer to the *Rāmāyaṇa* to see whence this epithet at Mahābalipuram is taken as Rāma is very often described as *satyaparākrama* :

दिव्यैर्गुणैः शक्रसमो रामः सत्यपराक्रमः

Rāmāyaṇa, II. 2. 28,¹

and

तमेवं गुणसंपन्नं रामं सत्यपराक्रमम्

Rāmāyaṇa, I. 1. 19 ; II. 2. 48.²

Another inscription, an early Western Chālukyan one, describing the king as :

तस्य पुत्रो महातेजाः कन्दर्प इव मूर्तिमान् ।

धर्मज्ञश्च कृतज्ञश्च पार्थतुल्यपराक्रमः ॥

Indian Antiquary, XIX, p. 309³

is also after the same epithet used for Rāma by Vālmīki :

रूपवान् सुभगः श्रीमान् कन्दर्प इव मूर्तिमान् ।

Rāmāyaṇa, V. 34. 30⁴

and

धर्मज्ञश्च कृतज्ञश्च सत्यवाक्यो दृढव्रतः

Rāmāyaṇa, I. 1. 2.⁵

As interesting as these instances is the whole line of one of the verses of Kālidāsa's *Raghuvamśa* :

यथाविधिहुताग्नीनां यथाकामार्चितार्थिनाम्

Raghu., I. 6⁶

cleverly dovetailed among the many epithets describing the Chālukyas in the Mahākūṭa Pillar inscription :

मानव्यसगोत्राणां हारितीपुत्राणां अप्रतिहतोत्साहबलमतिप्रतापशौर्यधैर्यवीर्याणां मातापितृ-
पादानुध्यातानां यथाविधिहुताग्नीनां यथाकामार्चितार्थिनां अनेकधर्मकर्मपुण्यप्रसवानां चलिक्व्यानां

Indian Antiquary, XIX, p. 16.⁷

The ejaculation of Hanumān in his wonder at the sight of Rāvaṇa in all his glory :

अयं ह्युत्सहते क्रुद्धः कर्तुमेकार्णवं जगत् ।

Rāmāyaṇa, V. 49. 20⁸

is easily recalled in that phrase :

पर्जन्येन एकार्णवभूतायामिव पृथिव्यां कृतायाम्

Epigraphia Indica, VIII, p. 42⁹

¹ 'Equal to Indra in his divine qualities Rāma was truly valorous.'

² 'Rāma full of such qualities and truly valorous.'

³ 'His son of great lustre, like Cupid incarnate, righteous and grateful, equal in valour to Arjuna.'

⁴ 'Beautiful, pleasing and auspicious, like Cupid incarnate.'

⁵ 'Righteous and grateful, truthful and steadfast.'

⁶ 'Who offered oblations in the sacrificial fire according to the rules ordaining them, who honoured those desiring anything from them by granting all that they desired.'

⁷ 'Of the Chālukyas, belonging to the Mānavya gotra (class), sons of Hārītī, of unassailable enthusiasm, power, intellect, effulgence, valour, bravery and energy, contemplative of the feet of their parents, who offered oblations in the sacred fire according to the rules ordaining them, who honoured those desiring anything from them by granting all that they desired, who generated merit by numerous deeds of merit....'

⁸ 'When angry he can transform the earth into one ocean.'

⁹ 'When by the downpour of the clouds the earth was transformed as it were all into one expanse of ocean.'

used in graphically describing the vast expanse of water that overflowed and flooded the area around the lake Sudarśana as given in Kshatrapa Rudradāman's inscription of the 2nd century A.D. There are several parallels like this from inscriptions and literature as in the Aihole inscription to which Kielhorn has drawn pointed attention. Bāṇa's famous line :

गर्भेश्वरत्वमभिनवयौवनत्वमप्रतिमरूपत्वममानुषशक्तित्वं चेति महतीयं खल्वनर्थपरम्परा
सर्वा । अविनयानामेकैकमप्येषामायतनं, किमुत समवायः ।

Kādambarī, p. 196 ¹

and Kālidāsa's verse :

वयोरूपविभूतीनामेकैकं मदकारणम् ।
तानि तस्मिन्समस्तानि न तस्योत्सिपिचे मनः ॥

Raghu., XVII. 43 ²

has been almost repeated in similar phraseology in the verse :

शौर्यं श्रौर्यौवनं राज्यमेकैकं मदकारकम् ।
सर्वं श्रीमानभीतस्य निर्विकारमुपस्थितम् ॥

Epigraphia Indica, XIX, p. 269 ³

from the Koṇḍēḍḍa plates of Dharmarāja. The fine play on the double meaning of words in the line :

निर्विष्टविषयस्नेहः स दशान्तमुपेयिवान् ।
आसीदासन्ननिर्वाणः प्रदीपार्चिरिवोपसि ॥

Raghu., XII. 1 ⁴

is cleverly expressed in almost similar fashion in the Bodh-Gayā inscription of Mahānāman :

व्यपगतविषयस्नेहः हततिमिरदशः प्रदीपवदसङ्गः

Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, III, p. 276 ⁵

This is not all. Whole verses from Sanskrit literature have been bodily removed from their texts and utilized by the authors of the inscriptions and the invocatory verses :

वागर्थविव संपृक्ती वागर्थप्रतिपत्तये ।
जगतः पितरी वन्दे पार्वतीपरमेश्वरी ॥

Raghu., I. 1 ⁶

¹ 'Noble birth, fresh youth, peerless beauty, superhuman power, all these are a great chain of troubles ; each one individually is the abode of pride, what then when they combine.'

² 'Of youth, beauty and wealth each one individually is the cause of pride ; all of them he had, but his mind was unaffected by pride.'

³ 'Valour, wealth, youth and kingship are each individually the cause of pride ; but all these were present in Śrīmānabhīta without change in his demeanour.'

⁴ 'Having enjoyed the love for pleasures, reaching the end of his career and with his end approaching, he was like the lamp flame at dawn that had sucked the oil, reached the tip of the wick and was about to get extinguished.'

⁵ 'With no more love for pleasures, with ignorance removed and free from attachment, like a lamp with oil exhausted, whose burning wick had removed darkness.'

⁶ 'To understand properly words and their meanings I bow to Pārvatī and Paremeśvara, the parents of the universe, who are closely united like a word and its meaning.'

या सृष्टिः स्रष्टुराद्या वहति विधिहुतं या हविर्या च होत्री
ये द्वे कालं विधत्तः श्रुतिविषयगुणा या स्थिता व्याप्य विश्वम् ।
यामाहुः सर्वभूतप्रकृतिरिति यया प्राणिनः प्राणवन्तः
प्रत्यक्षाभिः प्रपन्नस्तनुभिरवतु वस्ताभिरष्टाभिरिशः ॥

Sākuntala, I, 1 ¹

नमस्तुङ्गशिरश्चुम्बिचन्द्रचामरचारवे ।
त्रैलोक्यनगरारम्भमूलस्तम्भाय शम्भवे ॥

Harshacharita, I, 1 ²

जयन्ति बाणासुरमौलिलालिता दशास्यचूडामणिचक्रचुम्बिनः ।
सुरासुराधीशशिखान्तशायिनो भवच्छिदस्त्र्यम्बकपादपांसवः ॥

Kādambarī, I, 2 ³

जयतु जयतु देवो देवकीनन्दनोऽयं
जयतु जयतु कृष्णो वृष्णिवंशप्रदीपः ।
जयतु जयतु मेघर्श्यामलः कोमलाङ्गो
जयतु जयतु पृथ्वीभारनाशो मुकुन्दः ॥

Mukundamālāstotra, ⁴

चतुर्मुखमुखाम्भोजवनहंसवधूर्मम ।
मानसे रमतां नित्यं सर्वशुक्ला सरस्वती ॥

Kāvyaḍarśa, I, 1 ⁵

respectively in the Huli inscription of the Western Chālukyan king Vikramāditya VI (*Epigraphia Indica*, XVIII, p. 197), in an inscription from Rājpuṭana (*Epigraphia Indica*, XI, p. 65), in many later Western Chālukyan and Vijayanagar inscriptions, in Mahārāja Kumārapāladeva's Rewāh copper plate (*Indian Antiquary*, XVII, pp. 230, 232), in the Rewāh plates of Trailokyamalla Kalachuri (*Epigraphia Indica*, XXV, p. 5) and in the same plates are verses for the same purpose from the text of classical poets like Kālidāsa, Bāṇa, Kulaśekhara and Daṇḍin.

These are just a few odds and ends presented to show the vast scope of Sanskrit literature in helping the proper understanding of art and archaeology from the literary point of view and it is no idle claim to say that it is possible to appreciate the different motifs in the several branches of archaeology like sculpture, architecture, painting, icono-

¹ 'May Īśa protect you provided as he is with eight perceptible forms, the first creation of the creator (water), the recipient of duly offered sacrificial offerings (fire), the sacrificer, the two that determine time (sun and moon), that which pervades the universe having sound as its quality (sky), that which is said to be the essential element composing all beings (earth), and that by which all sentient beings live (air).'

² 'Salutation to Śambhu, the pivotal post in the construction of the three worlds, whose high head is beautiful with the moon-*chauri* on it.'

³ 'Victorious are the dust particles on the feet of the three-eyed Śiva, dust particles that are fondled by the head of the demon Bāṇa, that are kissed by the cluster of crest jewels of ten-headed Rāvaṇa, that rest on the crown-tops of the lords of gods and demons and that terminate the cycle of births.'

⁴ 'May the god, the son of Devaki be victorious, may Krishna, the lamp of the family of Vṛishṇis be victorious, may the one dark as the cloud and soft-limbed be victorious, may Mukunda, the remover of Earth's burden, be victorious.'

⁵ 'May Sarasvatī, all-white, the swan-bride in the cluster of face-lotuses of the four-faced Brahmā ever sport in my mind.'

graphy, numismatics and epigraphy only with the help of this great language which Bhavabhūti has rightly termed a divine language :

संस्कृतं नाम दैवी वाक् अन्वाख्याता महर्षिभिः¹

And has not the great author of the *Mahābhāṣya*, Patañjali, described this sacred language as a divine cow :

गोगौः कामदुघा²

And the cow of plenty, Sanskrit literature, yields us new and ever new thoughts and explanations for many obscure points still to be clarified in the domain of archaeology and ancient Indian culture that archaeology is intended to interpret. So the golden key as well as the descriptive label for the treasure house of Indian culture in the museum of archaeology is Sanskrit literature.

¹ 'Sanskrit is a divine language brought into use by great sages.'

² 'Literature is a cow yielding all desires.'

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GLOSSARY OF TERMS

<i>Abharaṇa-samudgaka</i>	jewel-box.
<i>Abhinaya</i>	gesture.
<i>Abhisārikā</i>	the lady who braves the journey to an appointed place to meet her lover at night.
<i>Āchandrārka</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	eternal (lit. as long as the sun and moon last).
<i>Āḍambara</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	a drum.
<i>Ajina-yajñopavīta</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	sacred thread composed of deer-skin.
<i>Ākranta-nāyikā</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	a lady who is conscious of her influence over her lord.
<i>Alaktaka</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	red dye for feminine feet.
<i>Ālīngya-mṛidaṅga</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	drum played held almost as in embrace.
<i>Ambu-mṛidaṅga</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	musical notes produced by tapping vessels filled with water.
<i>Amṛita-manthana</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	churning of the ocean for ambrosia.
<i>Aṅga</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	limb.
<i>Aṅgahāra</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	dance-pose movement.
<i>Aṅkya-mṛidaṅga</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	drum played placed on the lap.
<i>Antaḥpura-chitraśālīkā</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	picture-gallery of the harem.
<i>Antariya</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	lower garment.
<i>Anunaya</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	appeasement.
<i>Apavara</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	screen.
<i>Āprapadīna</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	dress reaching up to the foot.
<i>Ārabhaṭī</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	wild dance of Śiva.
<i>Ardhoruka</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	drawers.
<i>Aśoka</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	a flower.
<i>Aśoka-pushpa-prachāyikā</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	a game of gathering <i>aśoka</i> flowers.
<i>Āvarodha-saṅgītaka</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	musical and dance recital in the harem.
<i>Avidhavā-lakṣhaṇa-valaya</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	bracelet indicating auspicious wifehood.
<i>Bāhu-mūla</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	armpit.
<i>Bālīkā</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	an ear-ornament.
<i>Baliman-niketa</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	house for offerings to the manes.
<i>Bhāminī</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	hot-tempered lady.
<i>Bhaṅga</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	bodily flexion.
<i>Bherī</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	drum.
<i>Bhogavatī</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	the city of the snakes (lit. the town of enjoyment).
<i>Bhramarakas</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	ringlets of hair.
<i>Bhujāṅga</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	snake, passionate person.
<i>Bhūrja-patra</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	birch bark document.
<i>Biruda</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	honorific epithet of king.
<i>Chakravāka-mithuna</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	pair of <i>chakravāka</i> birds.
<i>Chāmara</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	flywhisk.
<i>Chāmara-dhārīṇī</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	female <i>chauri</i> -bearer.
<i>Chamatkāra</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	clever idea cleverly expressed.
<i>Char-āchara-guru</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	the lord of the animate and inanimate order of creation.
<i>Charaṇa-kamala</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	lotus-feet.
<i>Chaṭulūtilaka</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	circular ornament suspended by golden chain near the parting of hair above feminine forehead.
<i>Chaturaśra-yāna</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	(rectangular) palanquin.
<i>Chikura</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	ringlets of hair.

[illegible]

<i>Kanaka-kamala</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	gold ornament shaped like the lotus.
<i>Kanaka-patra</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	gold leaf shaped like palm-leaf scroll for the ear-lobe
<i>Kāñchī</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	girdle.
<i>Kañchuki</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	(lit. shirt-wearer) chamberlain.
<i>Kanduka-kṛīḍā</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	playing with a ball.
<i>Kaṇṭh-āślesha</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	neck embrace.
<i>Kapota-pālī</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	dovecot on roof-line.
<i>Kara-kañkana</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	bracelet.
<i>Karavī</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	dance-pose movement.
<i>Karaṇḍa-mukuta</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	crown with decoration resembling a pile of pots.
<i>Kara-tāla</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	tapping of hands to keep time.
<i>Karṇa-pūra</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	jewel that fills the ear-lobe.
<i>Karṇa-veshṭana</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	ear ornament entwining the ear-lobe.
<i>Karṇikā</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	ear ornament shaped after the lotus seed vessel
<i>Kāśu-mālai</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	Tamil name for <i>nishka</i> .
<i>Kaṭakā-mukha</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	hand pose suggestive of holding flowers.
<i>Kavi-samaya</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	poetical convention.
<i>Kṛtaka</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	a flower.
<i>Keśa-pāśa</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	beautiful arrangement of hair in loop fashion.
<i>Keyūra</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	armlet.
<i>Khadga-vāhinī</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	female sword-bearer.
<i>Khaṇḍitā</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	the lady whose lover stealthily loves another and acts false to her.
<i>Kinnara-mithuna</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	pair of <i>kinnaras</i> , fabulous creatures half human and half equine.
<i>Koṇa</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	drum stick.
<i>Kopanū</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	hot-tempered lady.
<i>Kośa</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	treasure.
<i>Kṛīḍā-mayūra</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	sportive peacock.
<i>Kṛīḍā-śaila</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	sportive mountain.
<i>Kshudra-ghaṇṭikā</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	small tinkling bells.
<i>Kubja</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	hump back in royal retinue.
<i>Kucha-bandha</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	breast band.
<i>Kumudinī</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	blue lotus pond personified feminine.
<i>Kuṇḍala</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	ear-ornament.
<i>Kutapa-vinyāsa</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	musical arrangement in dance.
<i>Lalāṭikā</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	ornament at the parting of the hair above the forehead for women.
<i>Lālā-kamala</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	sportive lotus.
<i>Madana-rasa-mah-augha</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	the great and gushing stream of love.
<i>Maḍḍuka</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	drum.
<i>Madhu-māsa</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	month of spring.
<i>Madhyā</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	a lady who is in the bloom of youth and is torn between bashfulness and love.
<i>Mahā-purusha-lakṣhaṇa</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	characteristic of great men.
<i>Makara-kuṇḍala</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	<i>makara</i> decorated ear ornament.
<i>Malla</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	wrestler.
<i>Mañcha</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	couch.
<i>Maṇḍapa</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	pillared hall.
<i>Mandāra</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	a flower.
<i>Māṅgā-mūlai</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	Tamil name for a <i>nishka</i> where the coins are mango-shaped.

<i>Manjira</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	anklet.
<i>Manushya-vāhya</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	borne by men.
<i>Mauli-maṇi</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	jewel for the turban.
<i>Mekhalā</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	girdle.
<i>Mekhalā-bandha</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	girdle string bondage, i.e., a lover getting bound by the girdle string of his lady for his misbehaviour; a kind of sash tied in ribbon fashion on the waist.
<i>Mithuna</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	husband and wife.
<i>Mṛidaṅga</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	a drum.
<i>Mṛishṭa-kunḍala</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	burnished ear-ring.
<i>Mugdhā</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	a damsel on the threshold of youth whose bashfulness undermines her love.
<i>Muktā-tāṭaṅka</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	pearl-set ear-ornament.
<i>Muktā-yajñopavīta</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	sacred thread composed of pearls.
<i>Nāga-dampatī</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	<i>nāga</i> -couple.
<i>Nāga-pāśa</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	snake entwining.
<i>Nāga-rāja</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	snake prince.
<i>Nāgaraka</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	a townsman, a man of taste and culture.
<i>Nakha-kshata</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	nail-marks.
<i>Nāṭya-maṇḍapa</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	dance-hall.
<i>Nāyaka-maṇi</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	central large gem in a necklace.
<i>Nāyikā-nāyaka-bhāva</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	the relationship of lover and beloved.
<i>Nīl-otpala</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	blue lotus.
<i>Nishka</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	necklace composed of gold coins strung together.
<i>Nivī-bandha</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	knot of under-garment.
<i>Nṛitta</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	pure dance without gesticulation.
<i>Nṛitya</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	suggestive dance with gesture or <i>abhinaya</i> .
<i>Nūpura</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	anklet.
<i>Pāda-kaṭaka</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	anklet.
<i>Pāda-pīṭha</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	footstool.
<i>Padma-dala</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	lotus-petal.
<i>Padma-nābha</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	with lotus issuing from navel.
<i>Padma-rāga</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	of lotus hue.
<i>Padminī</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	lotus pond personified feminine
<i>Palāśa</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	a flower.
<i>Paṇava</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	a drum.
<i>Pañjara stha</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	in a cage.
<i>Paryāṅka</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	couch.
<i>Paryāṅkikā</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	couch.
<i>Paṭaha</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	a drum.
<i>Patra</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	leaf.
<i>Pātr-āsana</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	a low table or rest for plates from which to eat.
<i>Paṭṭa-bandha</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	ornamented gold strips for turban.
<i>Phalaka-hāra</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	necklace with three, five or seven jewelled slabs at intervals.
<i>Pishṭa-pañch-āṅgula</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	auspicious marks of the palm and fingers on walls in coloured paste.
<i>Prasādhikā</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	maid in attendance for helping in dressing and toilet.
<i>Pratihārī</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	amazon royal attendant and usher.
<i>Pratimā-griha</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	hall of portrait statues.
<i>Prauḍhā</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	a lady in full youth whose love triumphs over her bashfulness.

<i>Pravahana</i>	superior cart.
<i>Praveṇī</i>	long plaited hair.
<i>Prema-pāśa</i>	entwined in love.
<i>Proshita-bhartṛikā</i>	woman separated from her lord who is away elsewhere.
<i>Pūrṇa-ghaṭa</i>	a pot filled with water as auspicious sign of plenty.
<i>Purushottama</i>	best among men.
<i>Pūrvā-diśā</i>	eastern quarter.
<i>Pushp-āṇjali</i>	handful of flowers.
<i>Pushp-āvachaya</i>	gathering of flowers.
<i>Pushyaratha</i>	pleasure chariot.
<i>Rājāṅka</i>	mark of royalty.
<i>Rājya-śrī</i>	royal prosperity.
<i>Ramaṇa-vārtā</i>	lover's message, news from or of lover.
<i>Rāsa-kṛīḍā</i>	a group dance.
<i>Raśanā</i>	girdle.
<i>Ratnākaratva</i>	of the nature of a receptacle of gems.
<i>Ratna-valaya</i>	gemset bracelet.
<i>Rechita or rechaka</i>	dance movement.
<i>Roma-rāji</i>	faint streak of hair on the stomach.
<i>Śāla-bhañjikā</i>	a statue ; a game of gathering <i>sāl</i> flowers.
<i>Sambhoga-śṛiṅgāra</i>	love in union.
<i>Sandhyā</i>	twilight personified feminine.
<i>Sandhyā-nṛtta</i>	evening dance of Śiva.
<i>Saṅgītaka</i>	musical orchestra.
<i>Sapta-paḍī</i>	seven steps walk together by husband and wife in the marriage as symbol of comradeship in life.
<i>Sapta-tantrī-vīṇā</i>	seven-stringed lute.
<i>Śarpa-nirmoka</i>	the cover of a snake.
<i>Śaṭha</i>	a rogue that stealthily loves another damsel and offends his lady.
<i>Sayana-chitra-śālikā</i>	picture gallery of the bed-chamber.
<i>Simanta</i>	parting of the hair.
<i>Simantini</i>	woman (lit. a lady with her hair parted in pleasing fashion).
<i>Siṃha-kaṭi</i>	waist attenuated like that of a lion.
<i>Siṃh-āsana</i>	lion-throne.
<i>Śrāddha</i>	ceremony of the manes.
<i>Śṛiṅgāra</i>	love.
<i>Śṛiṅgāra-cheshṭā</i>	movements suggestive of amorous impatience.
<i>Śroṇī-sūtra</i>	waist-cord.
<i>Stana</i>	breast.
<i>Stan-ottariya</i>	upper cloth to cover the breasts.
<i>Sthāna</i>	basic dance pose or attitude.
<i>Sushira</i>	wind instrument like flute.
<i>Svayam-vara</i>	a gathering of princes at the bride's place for her choice of her husband from amongst them.
<i>Śveta-padm-āsana</i>	seated on white lotus.
<i>Tala-pushpa-puṭa</i>	a dance attitude for strewing a handful of flowers.
<i>Tamīsrā</i>	darkness.
<i>Tāṭaṅka</i>	ear jewel set with gems, pearls, etc.
<i>Tilaka</i>	a flower.
<i>Tiryag-gata-rati</i>	love of the lower order.

[illegible]

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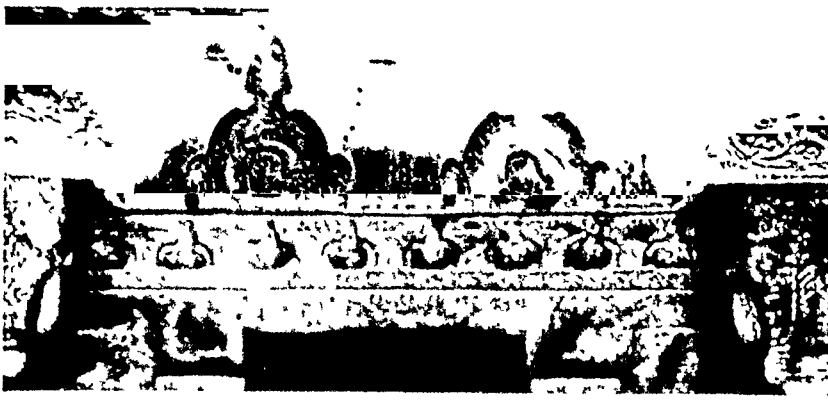
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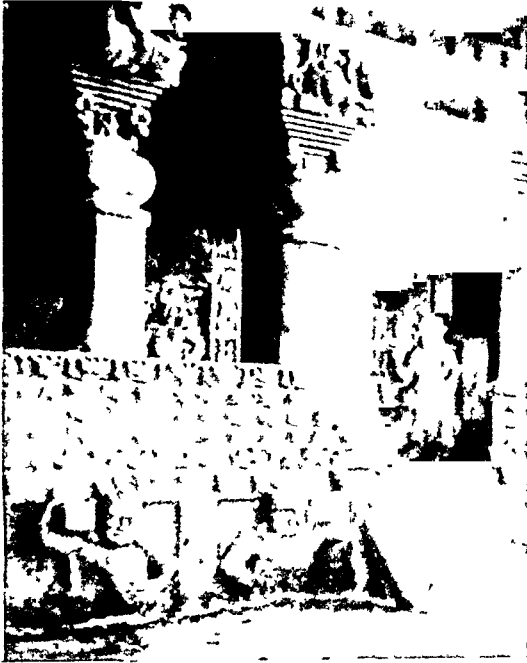
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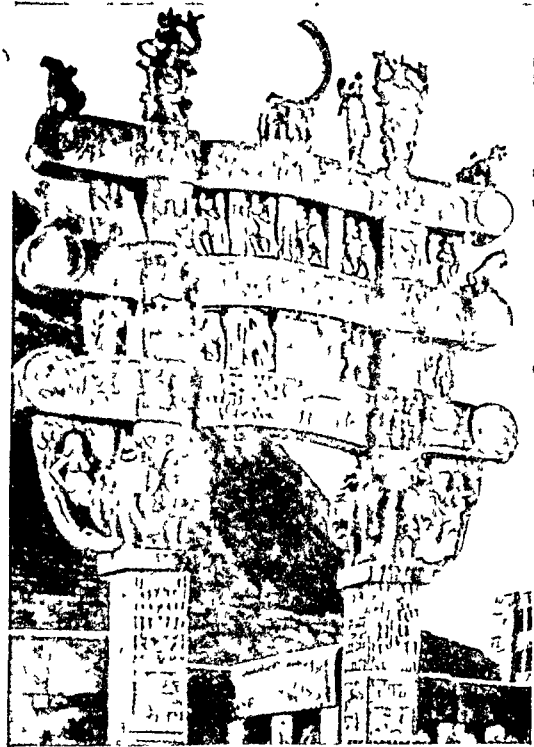
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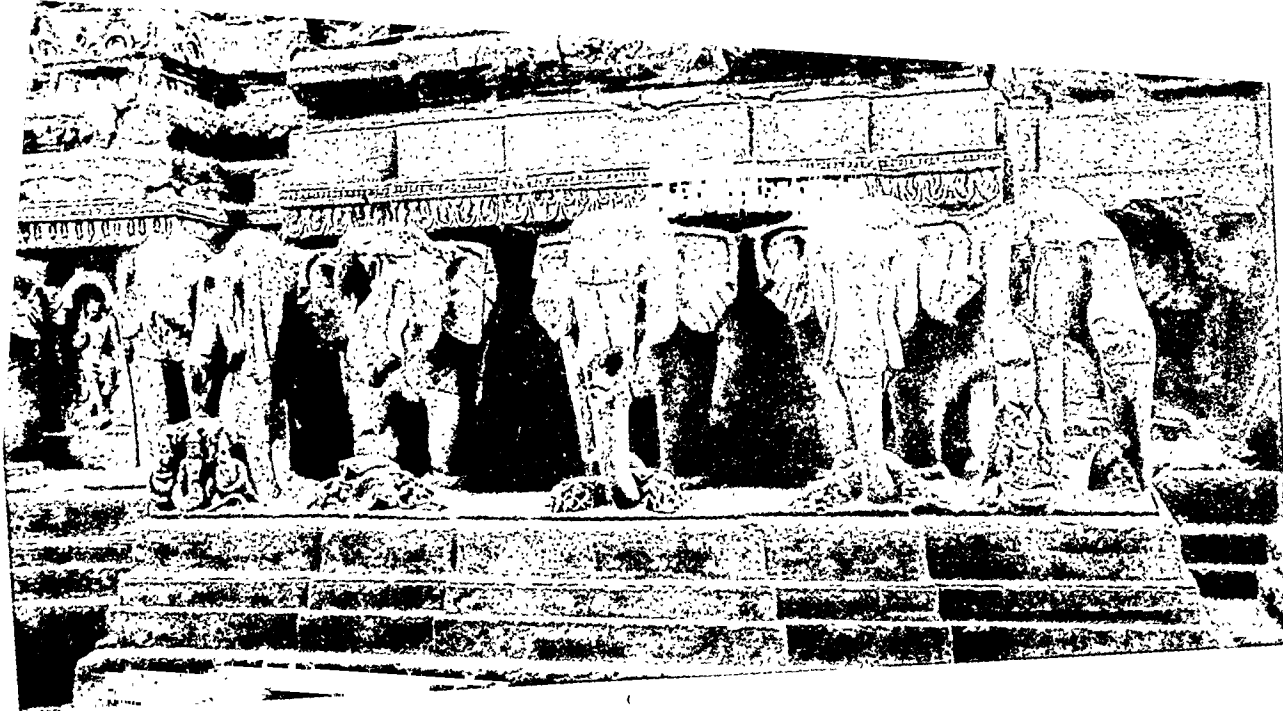


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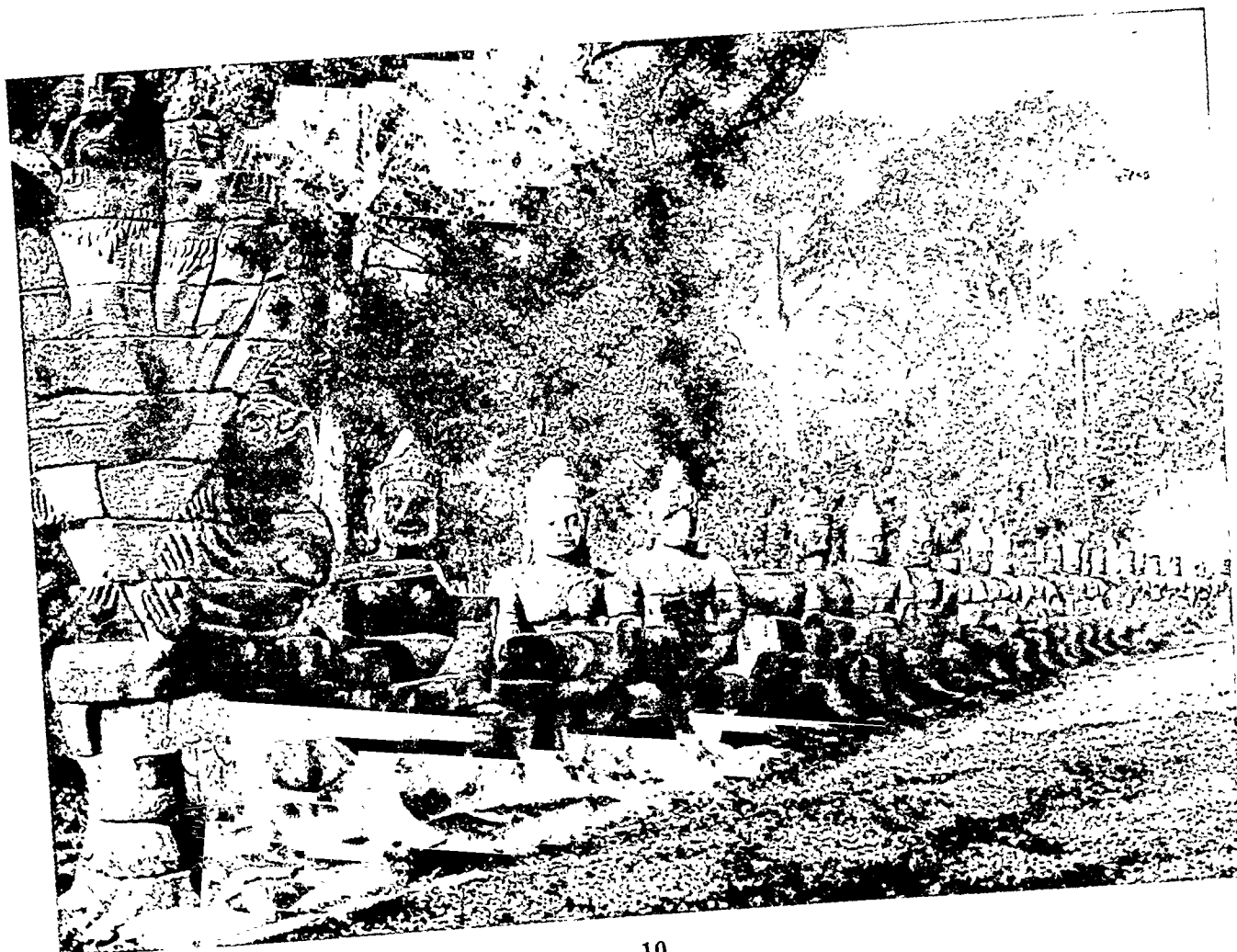


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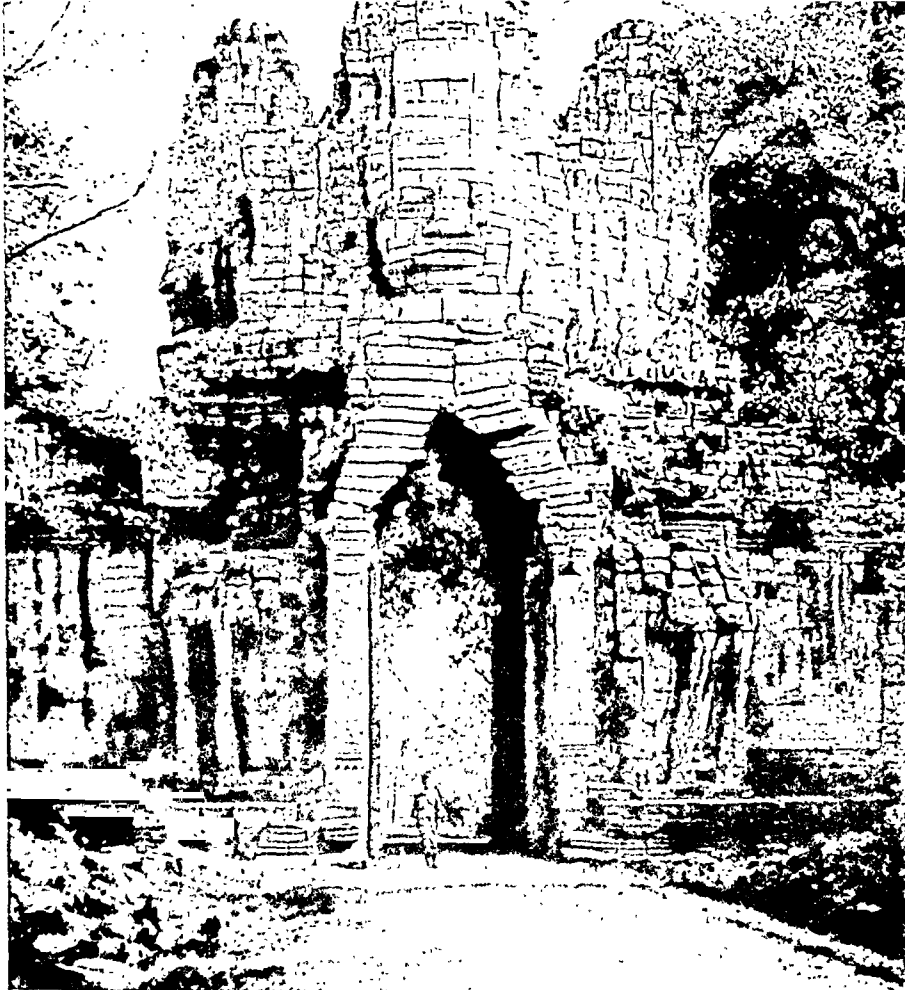
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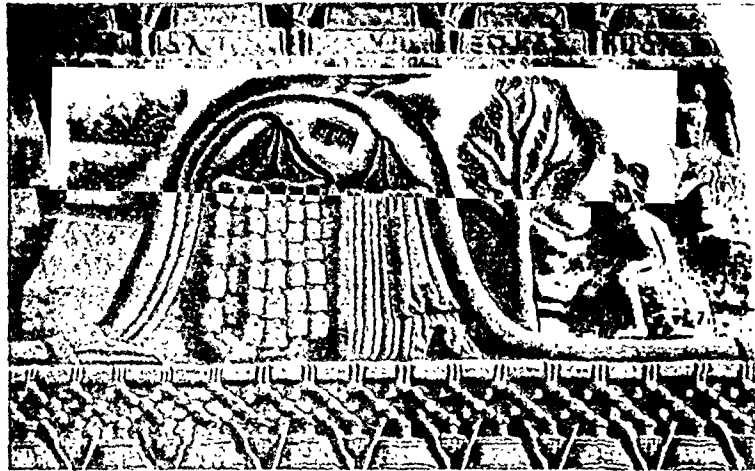
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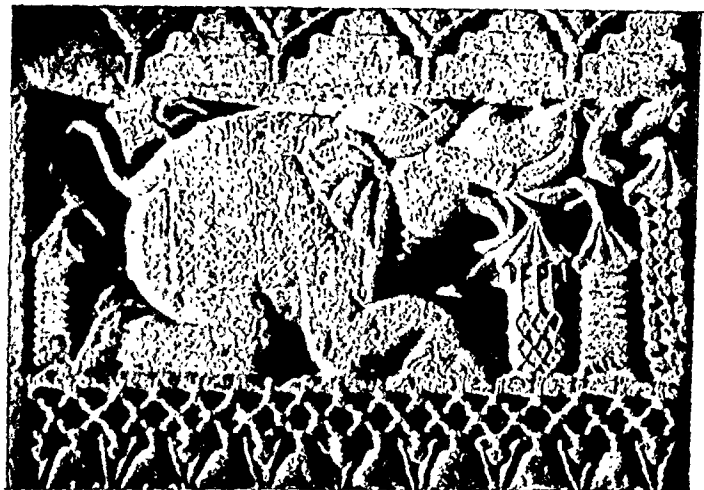
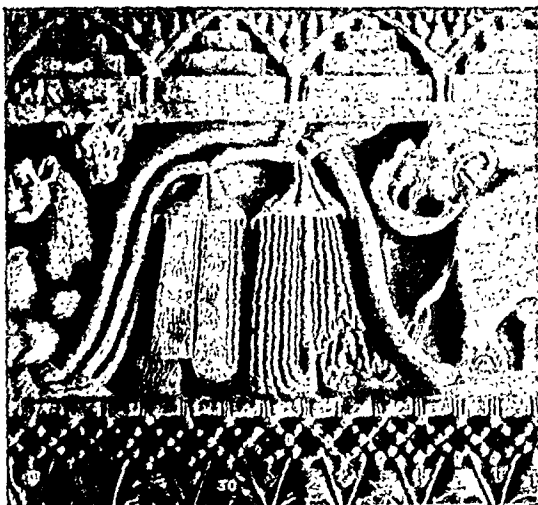
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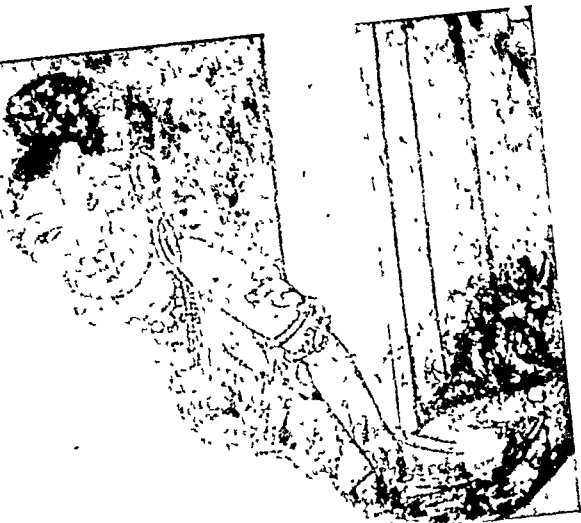


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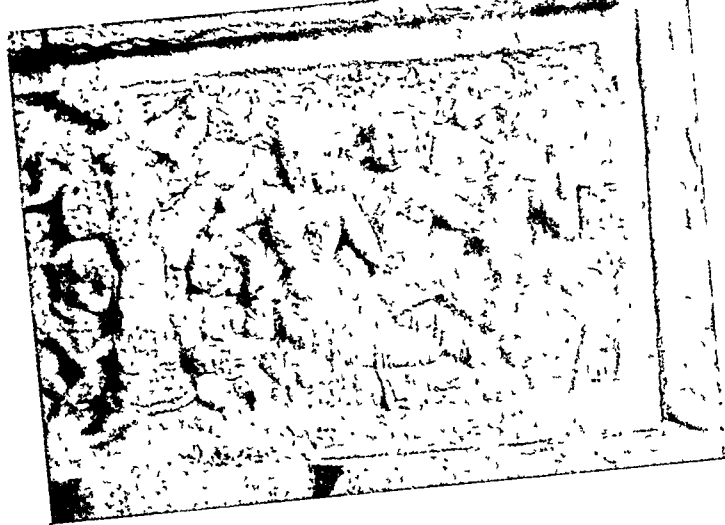


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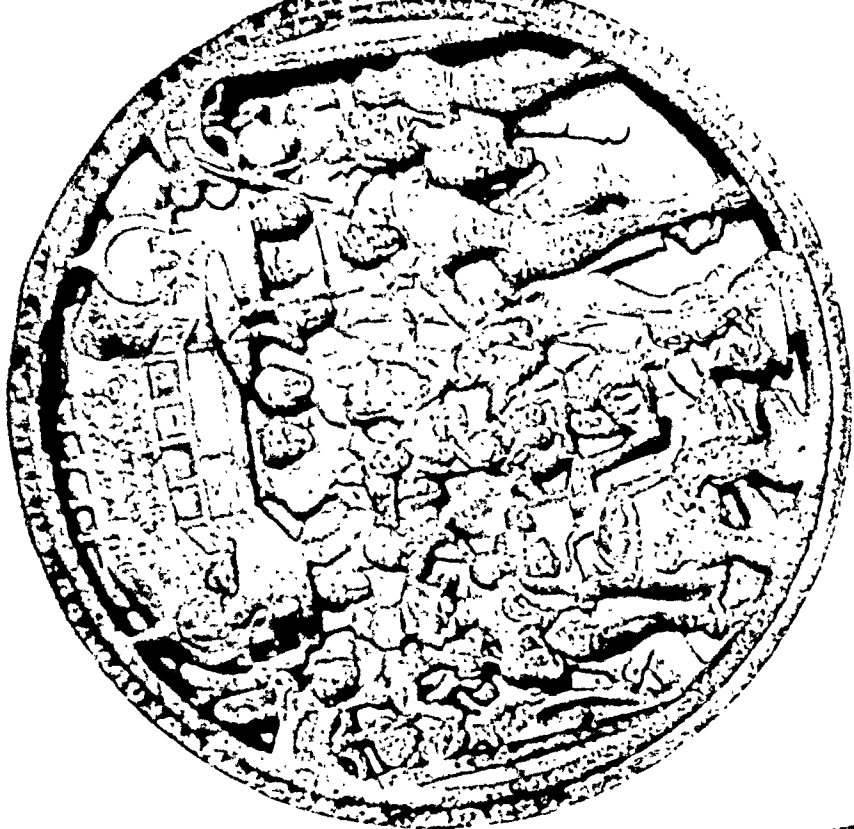


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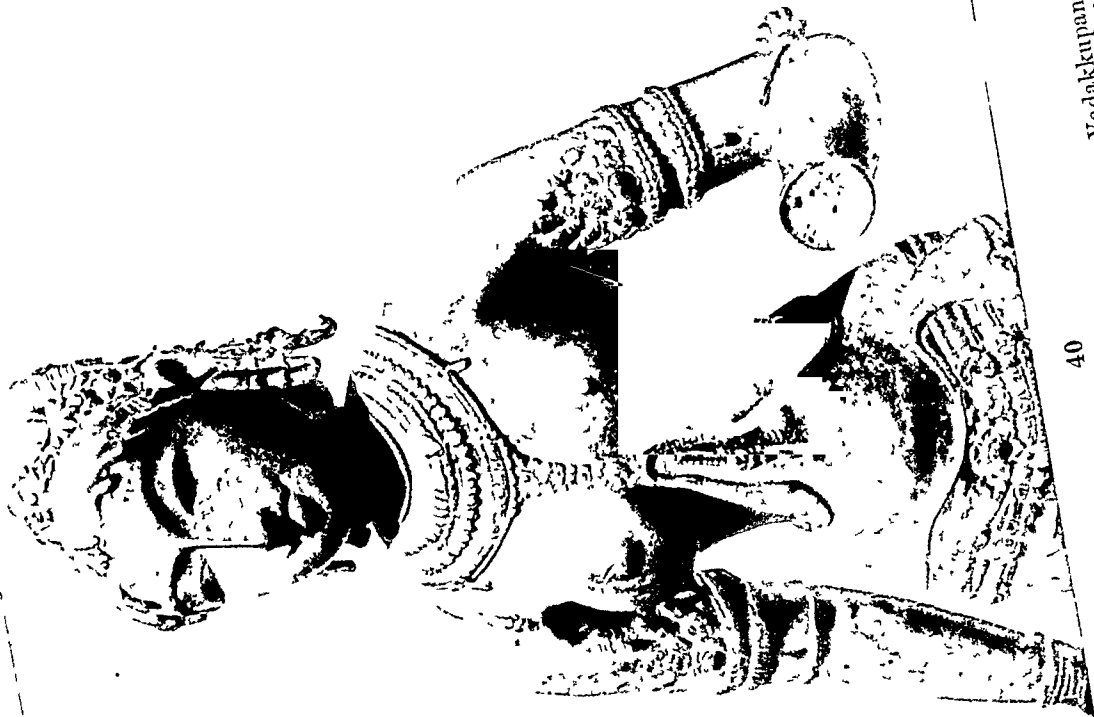


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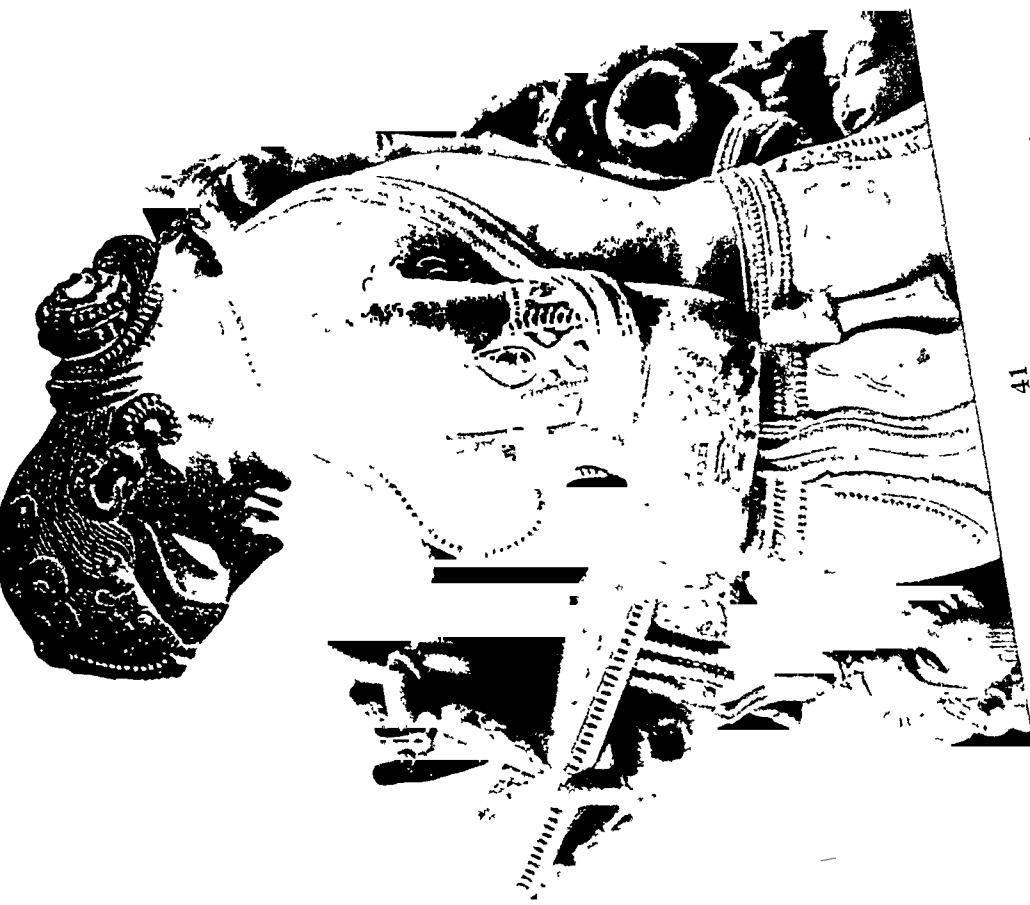
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40. Sitā from the Rāma group from Vāḍakkupanaṇyūr showing beautiful flower-decked braid—Chola, 10th century A. D., Madras Government Museum, Madras.



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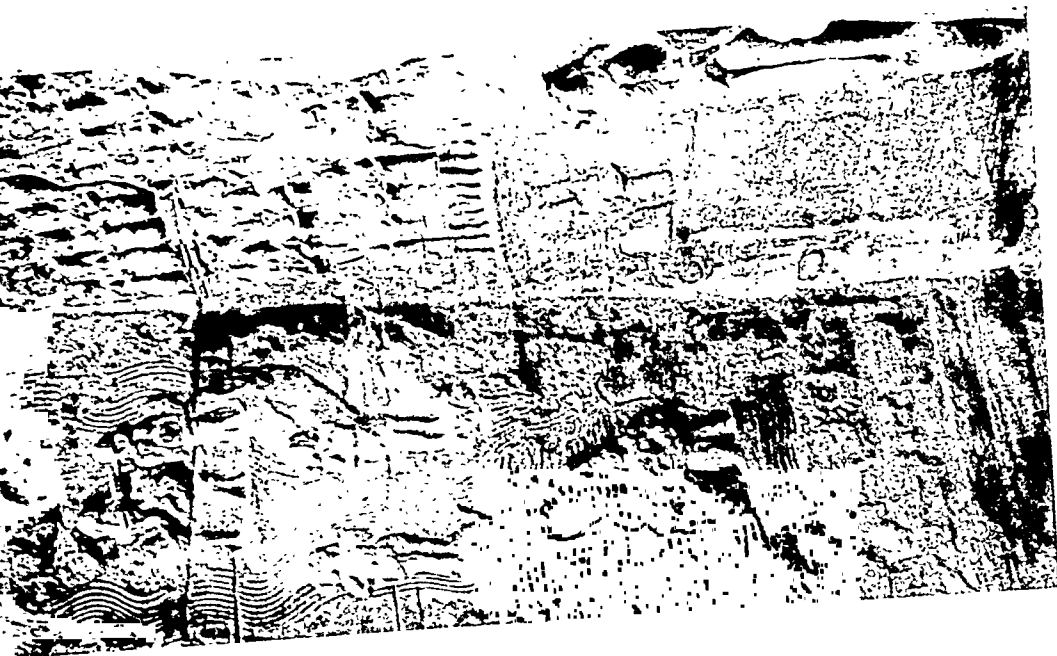
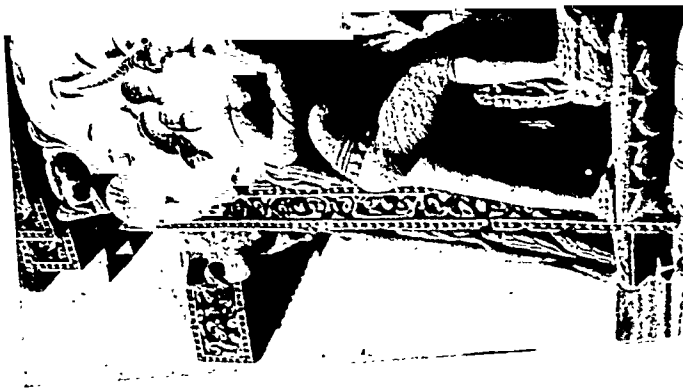


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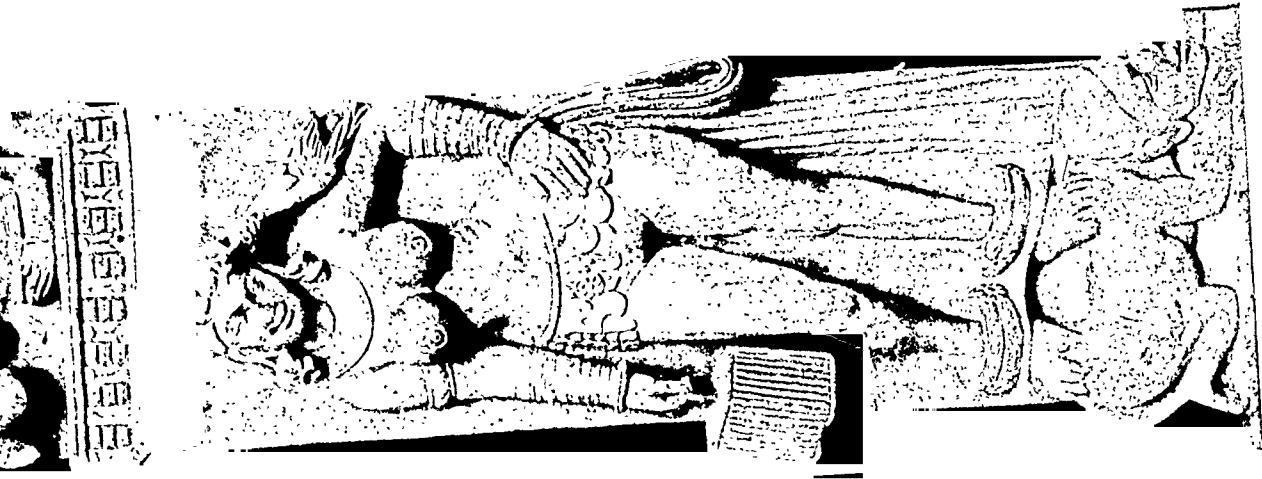
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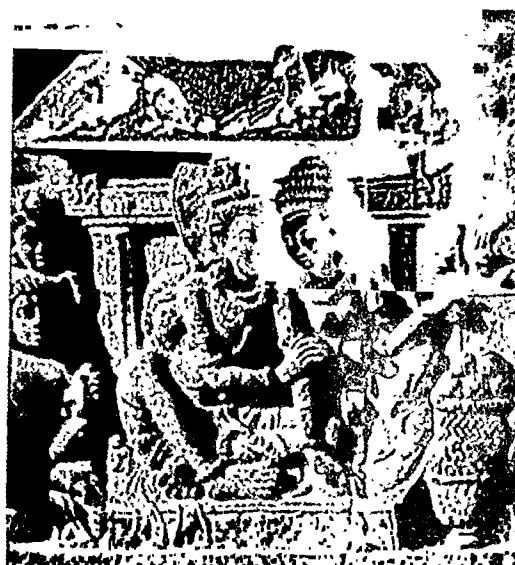
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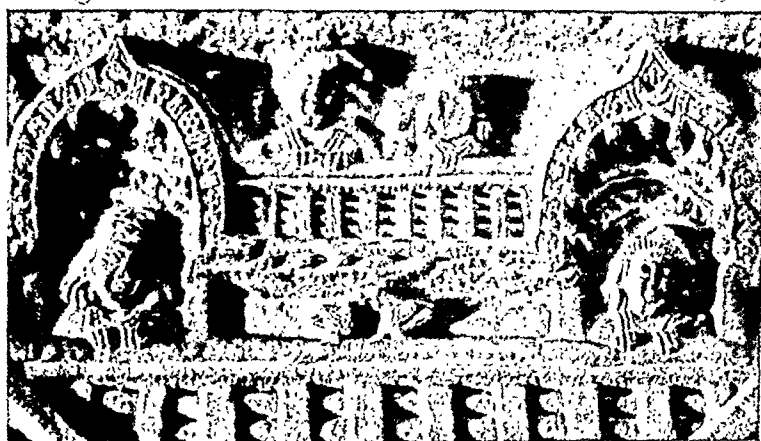
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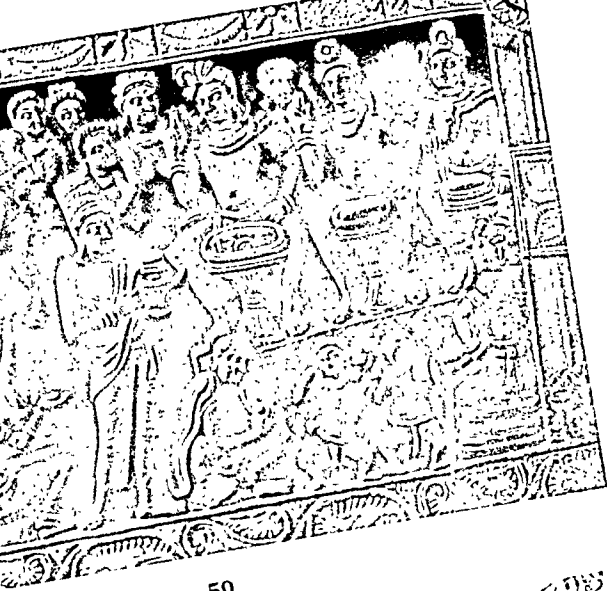


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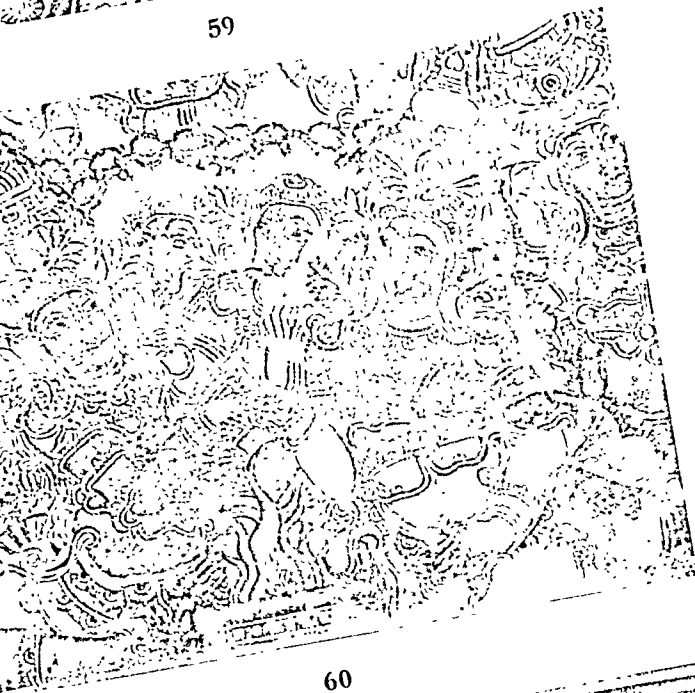


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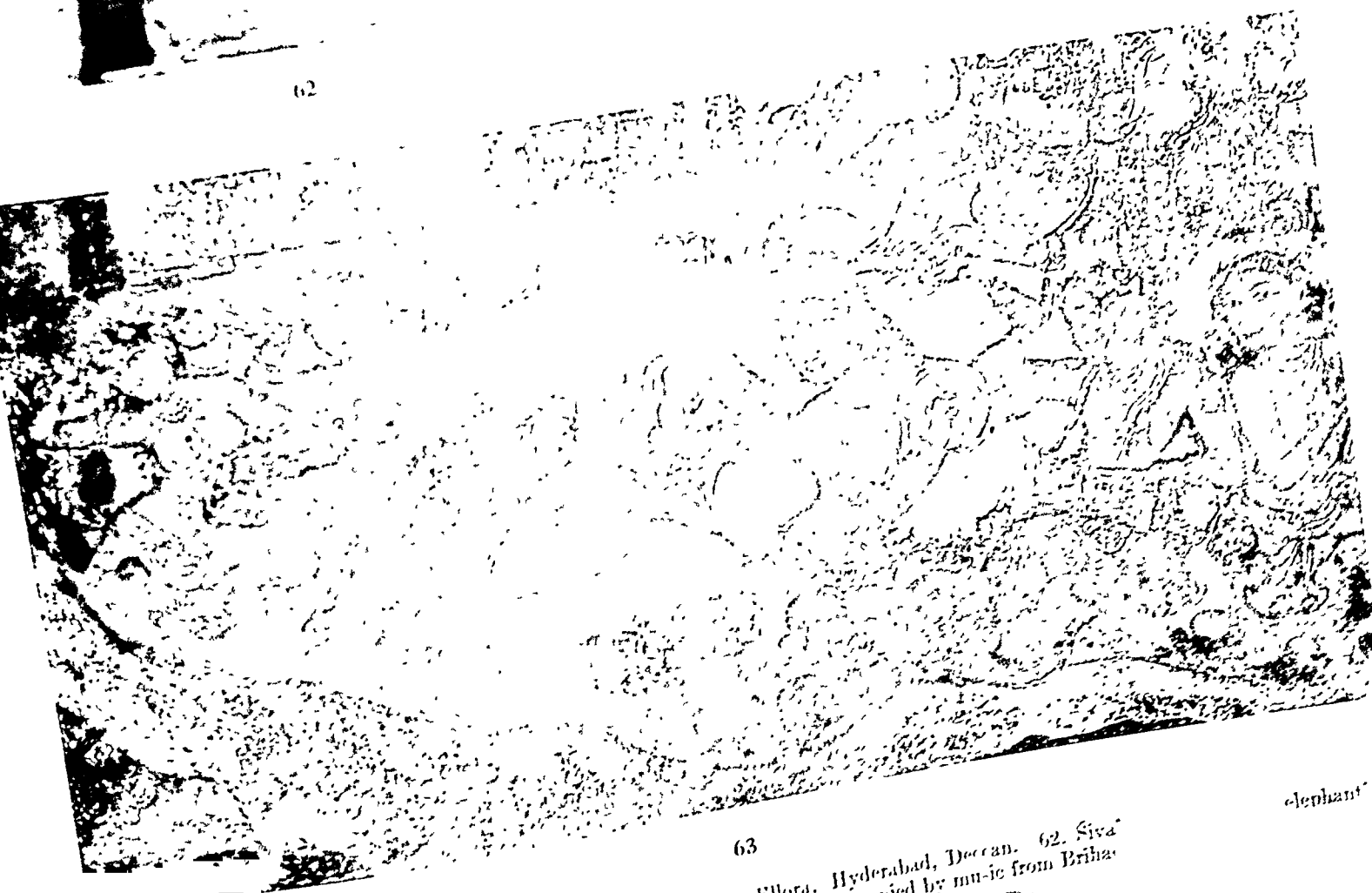


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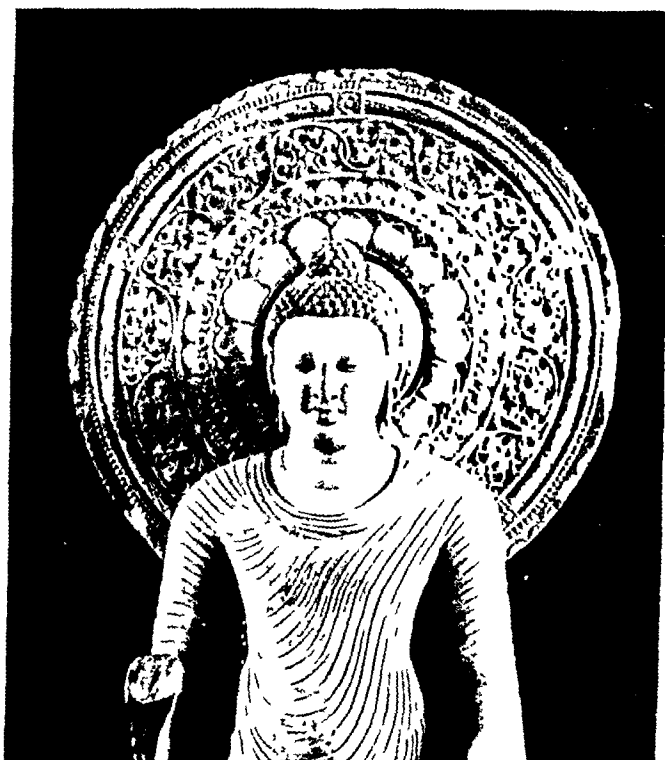
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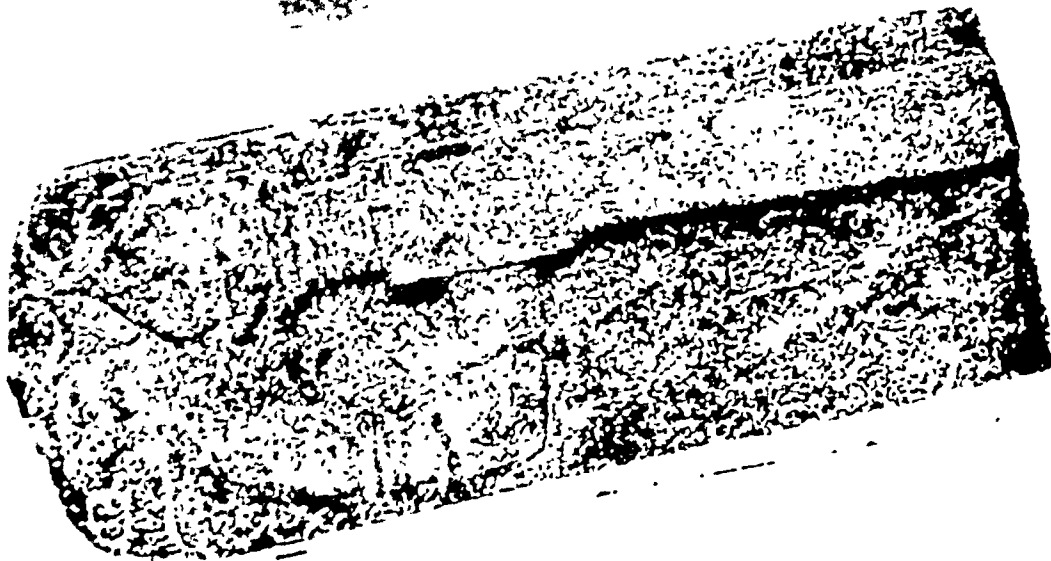
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70. Relief showing hero in combat. Madras Government Museum. Madras.



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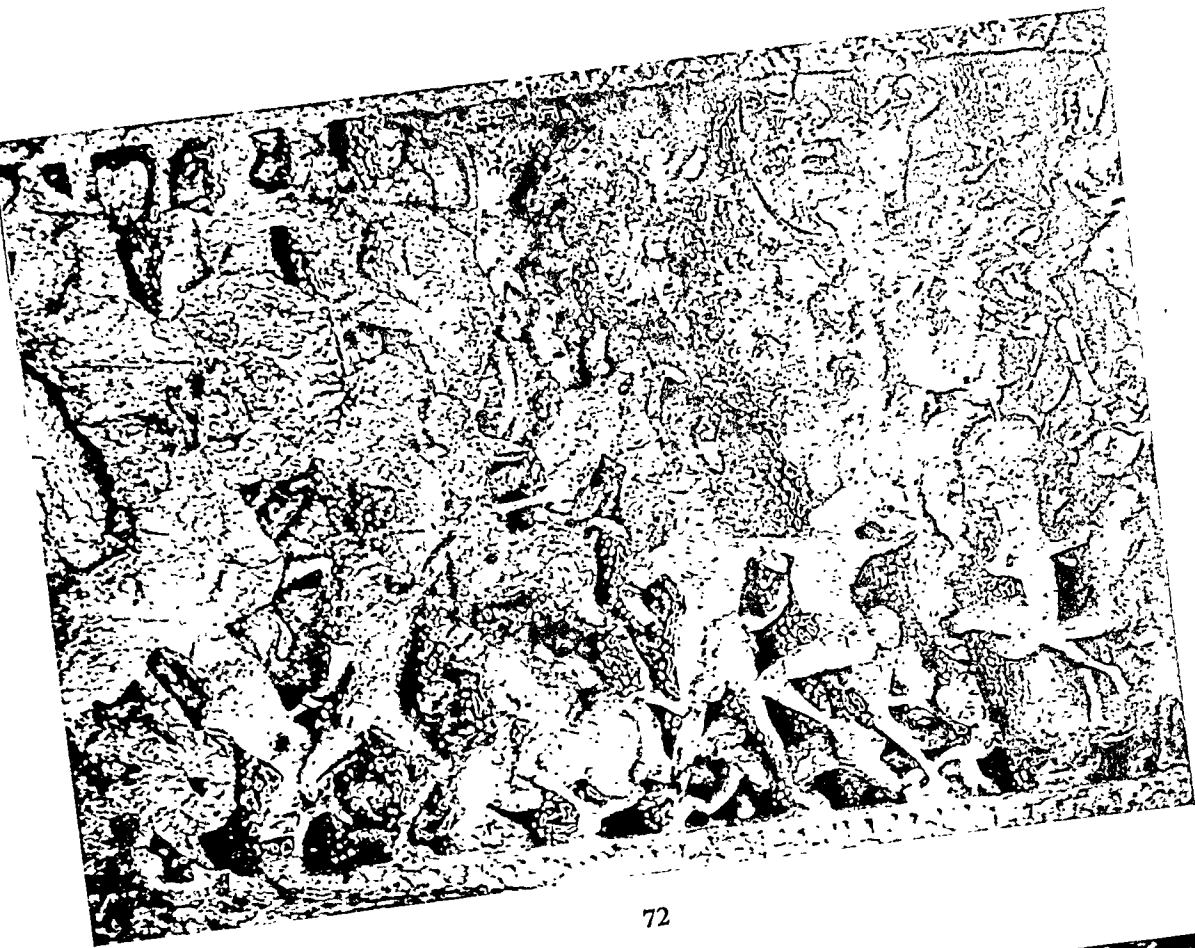
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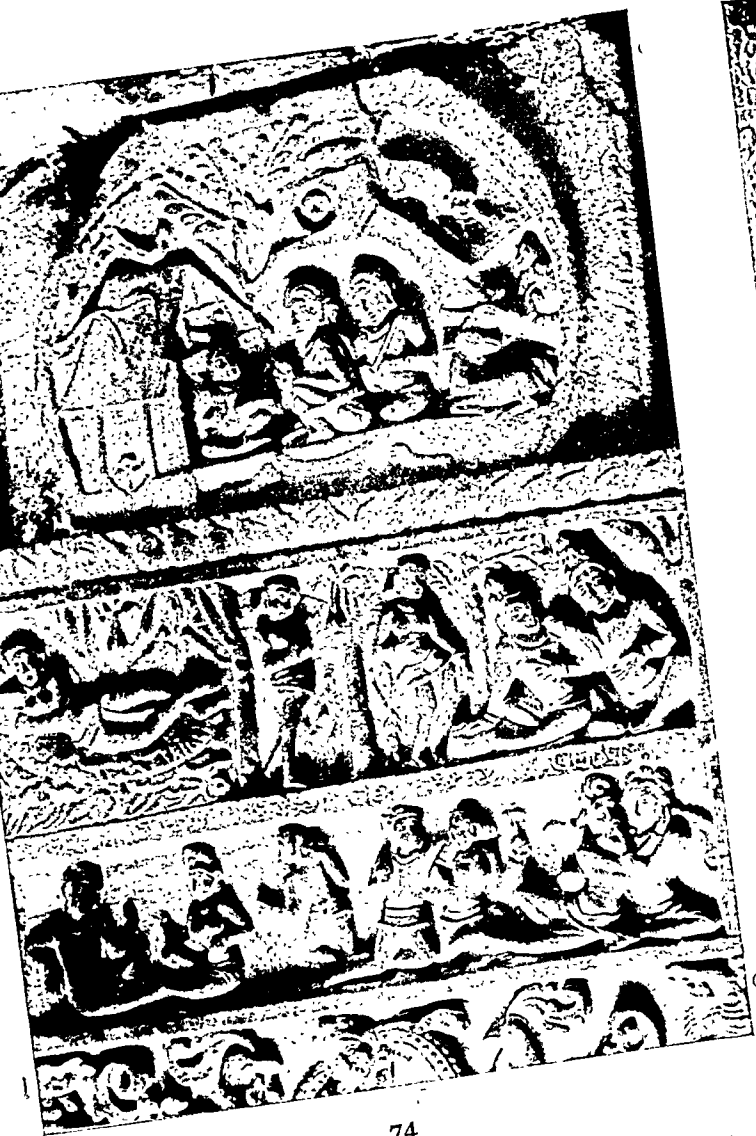
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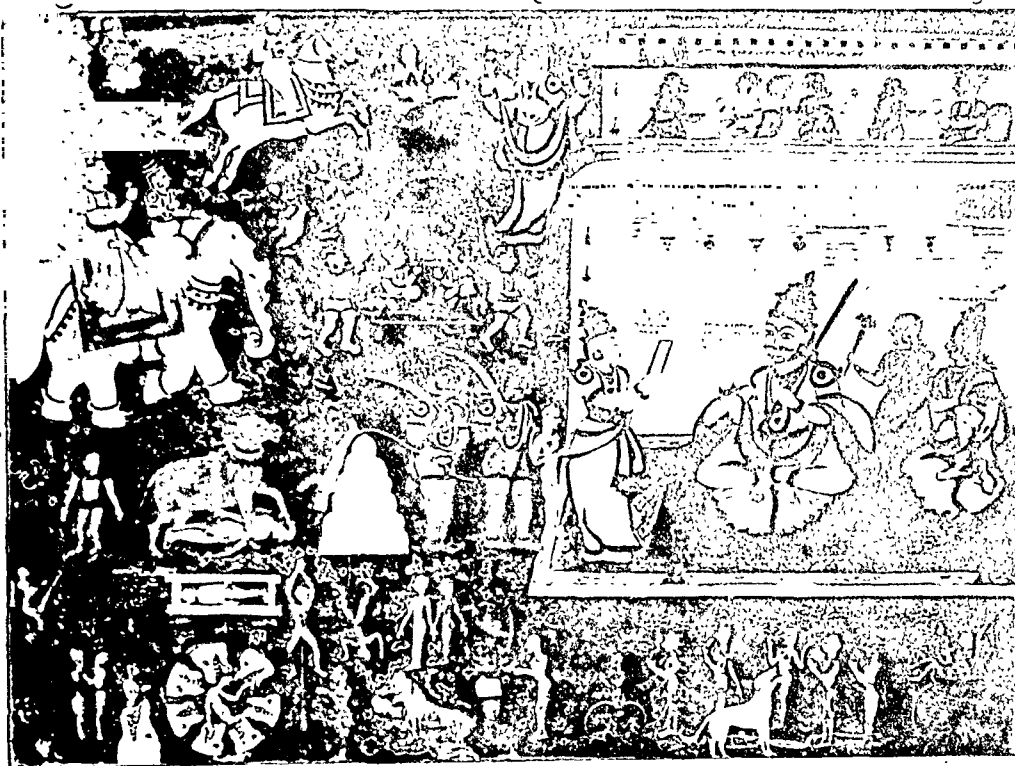


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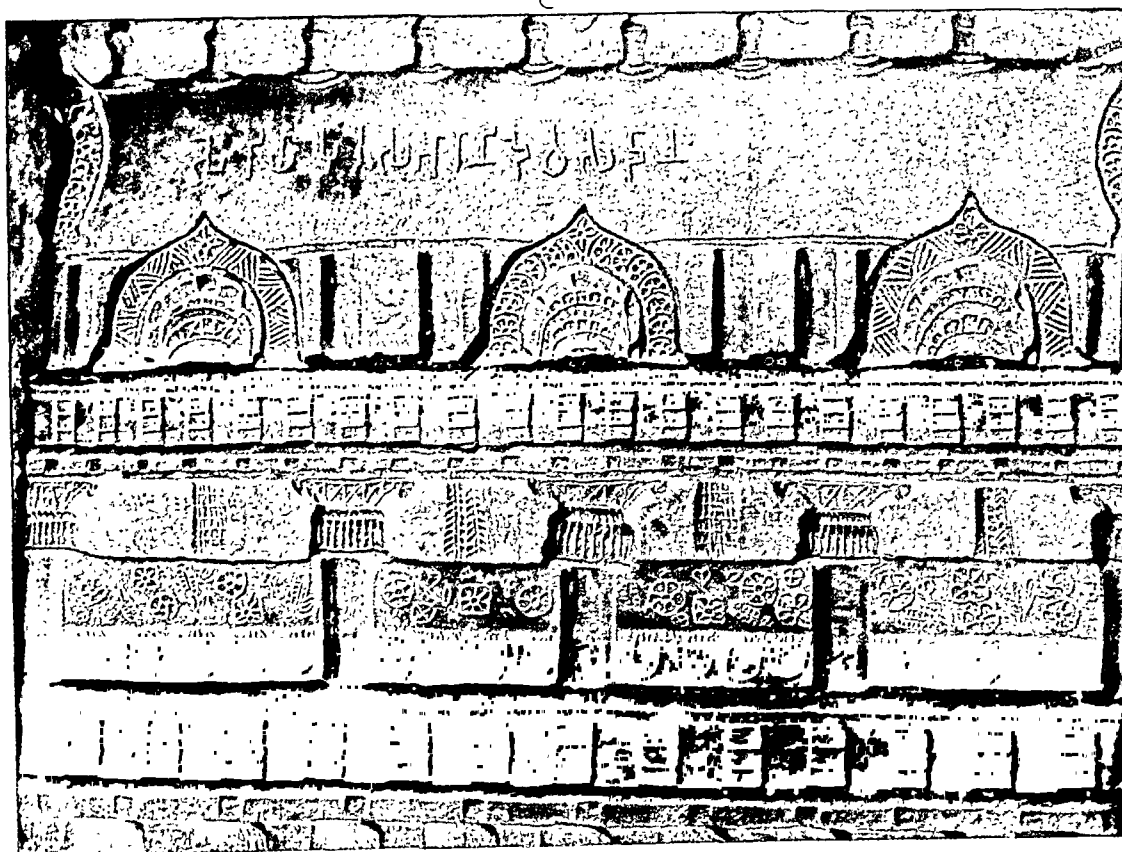


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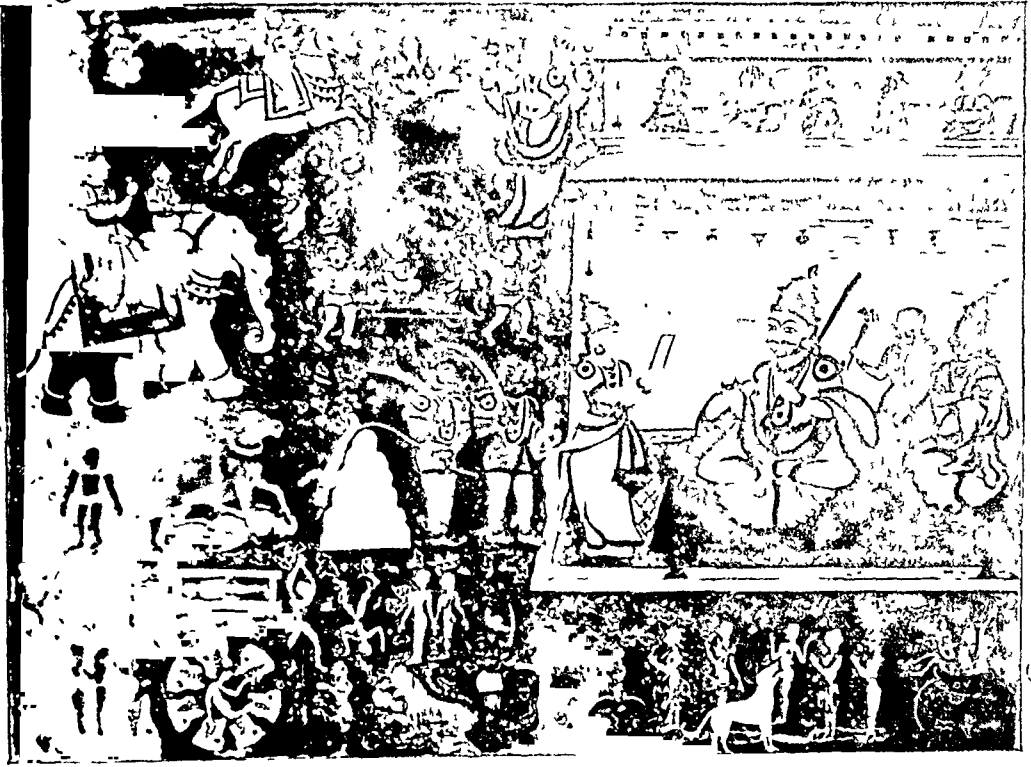


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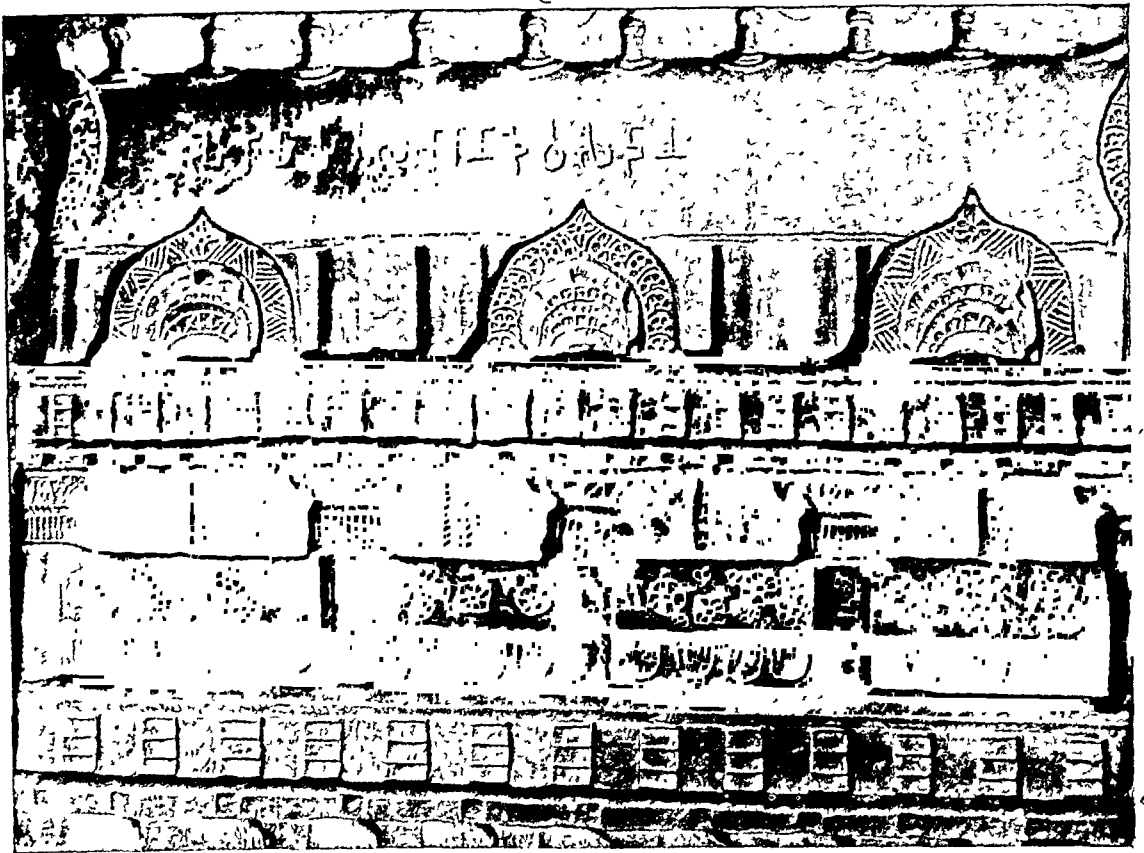


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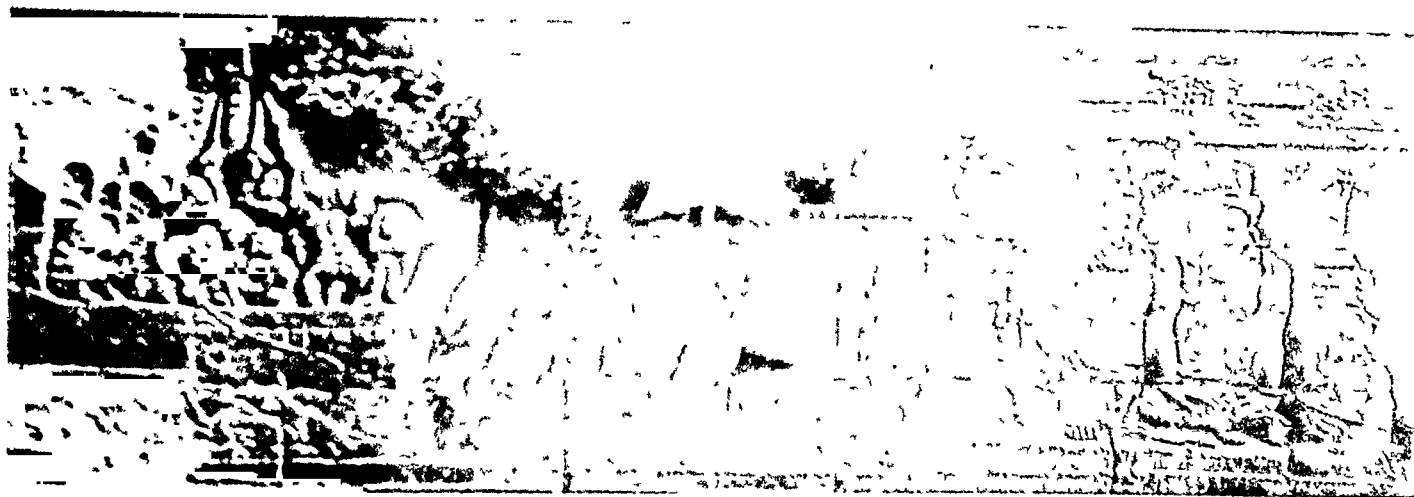


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77. Gold coin of Narendrāditya, unattributed Gupta type, 7th century A.D.; king nimbate seated on throne with head to left attended by a lady on either side, legend above *yama*, beneath couch letter *dha*; reverse showing goddess Lakshmi nimbate standing holding lotus in right hand with lotuses about her and a swan near her feet, legend *Śrī Narendrādityaḥ*. 78. Gold coin of Samudragupta showing Chandragupta I and Kumāradevi, Gupta, 4th century A.D.; obverse showing Chandragupta I nimbate standing to left wearing close-fitting coat, trousers and ornaments, holding standard in left hand and offering a ring held in right hand to Kumāradevi nimbate who stands on right facing the king wearing under and upper garments, legend on either side of standard *Chandra* and *Gupta* and on left *Kumāradevi*; reverse showing goddess Lakshmi nimbate seated facing on couchant lion carrying noose in right hand and cornucopia in left arm, her feet resting on lotus, legend to right *Lichehharayah*. 79. Gold coin of Chandragupta II, Gupta, 4th century A.D.; obverse showing king nimbate wearing waist-cloth and ornament seated on high-backed couch, holding flower in right hand, his left hand resting on couch, legend below couch near footstool *Rūpākṛiti* and around *Deva Śrī Mahārājādhirāja Śrī Chandraguptasya*. 80. Gold coin of Samudragupta, Gupta, 4th century A.D.; obverse showing king nimbate wearing waist-cloth and ornaments seated on high-backed couch, playing lyre resting on his lap, footstool beneath couch with letter *si*, legend around *Mahārājādhirāja Śrī Samudraguptaḥ*. 81. Gold coin of Kumāragnpta I, Gupta, 5th century A.D.; reverse showing nimbate goddess standing playing with peacock, legend *Kumāragnptodhirāja*. 82. Gold coin of Kumāragnpta I, Gupta, 5th century A.D.; obverse showing king wearing close-buttoned coat and trouser on horseback attacking rhinoceros, legend around *Bhartā khaḍgatrātā Kumāragnpto jayatyaniṣam*. 83. Gold coin of Kumāragnpta I, Gupta, 5th century A.D.; obverse showing king with goad in right hand, riding elephant advancing left, behind king is seated an attendant holding umbrella on him, traces of legend which is lost. 84. Lead coin of Gautamīputra Śrī Yajña Śātakarṇi, 2nd century A.D.; obverse showing horse standing; above crescent, legend in Brāhmī *Raño Gotamīputasa Sīri Yaña Śātakarṇi*. 85. Gold coin of Samudragupta, Gupta, 4th century A.D.; obverse showing horse before sacrificial post with its pennons flying above the animal, beneath horse letter *si* and legend around *Rājādhirājaḥ prithivīm avitvā divaṁ jayatyaprativāryavīryaḥ*; reverse showing chief queen nimbate standing wearing loose robe and ornaments carrying fly-whisk in right hand resting on her shoulder, opposite her sacrificial spear with fillet, lotus supporting queen's feet, legend to right *Aśvamedhaparākramaḥ*. 86. Silver coin of Gautamīputra Śrī Yajña Śātakarṇi, Śātavāhana, 2nd century A.D.; obverse showing bust of king, legend in Brāhmī *Raño Gotamīputasa Sīri Yaña Śātakarṇi*; reverse showing mountain with crescent, above, wavy line beneath, Ujjain symbol on left surmounted by crescent, rayed star between crescents, legend in Brāhmī. *ṇaṣa Gotamīputasa Hiru Yaña Hātakarṇi*. 87. Lead coin of Gautamīputra Vijivayakura, Śātavāhana, 2nd century A.D., bow strung and fitted with arrow pointing upwards, legend in Brāhmī *Raño Gotamīputasa Vilivāyakurasa*. 88. Silver coin of Nahapāna, Kshatrapa, 2nd century A.D., reverse showing arrow and thunderbolt, legend in Brāhmī and Kha. *ṇi* *chaharātasa Nahapānasa*.



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